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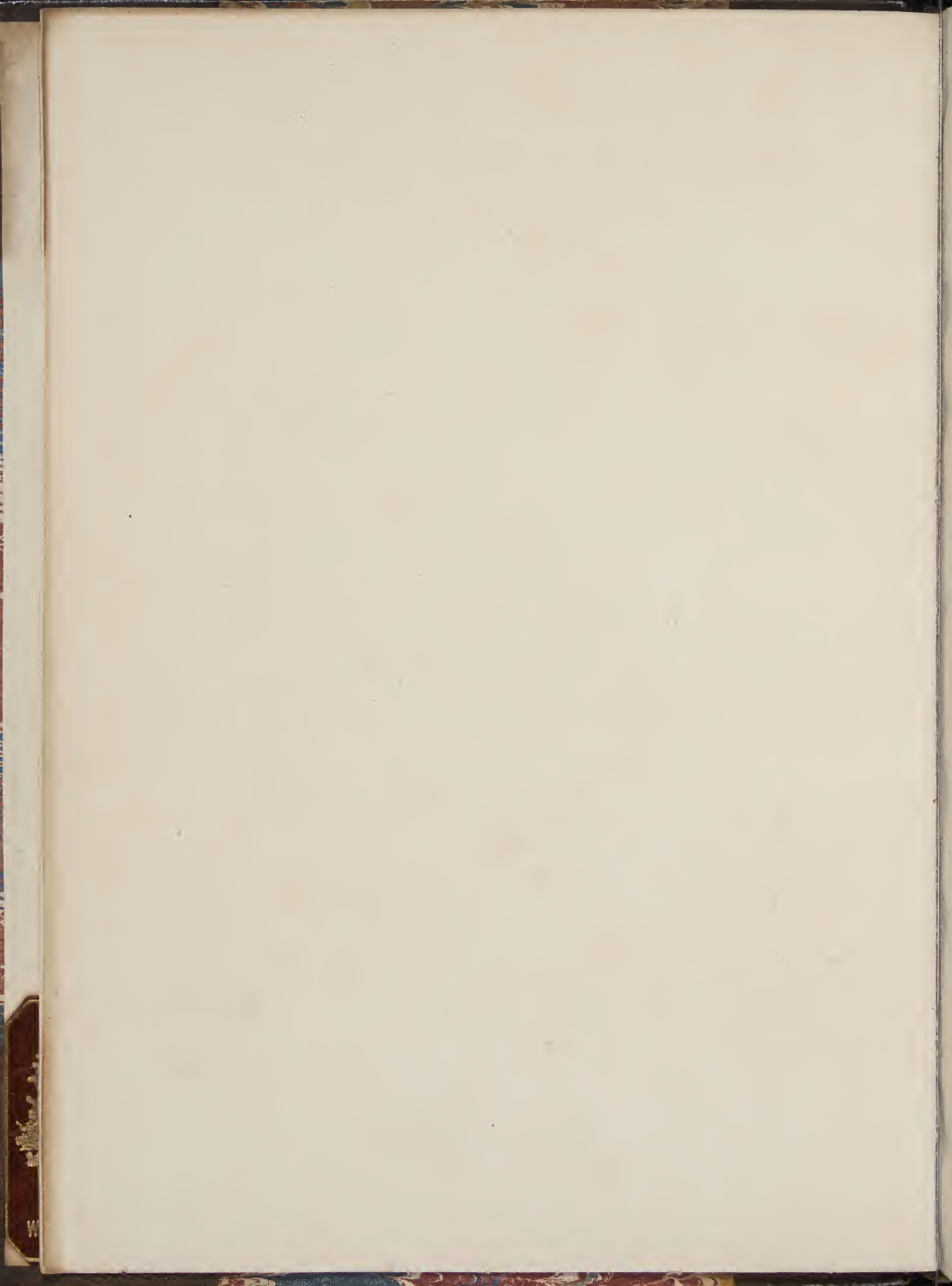


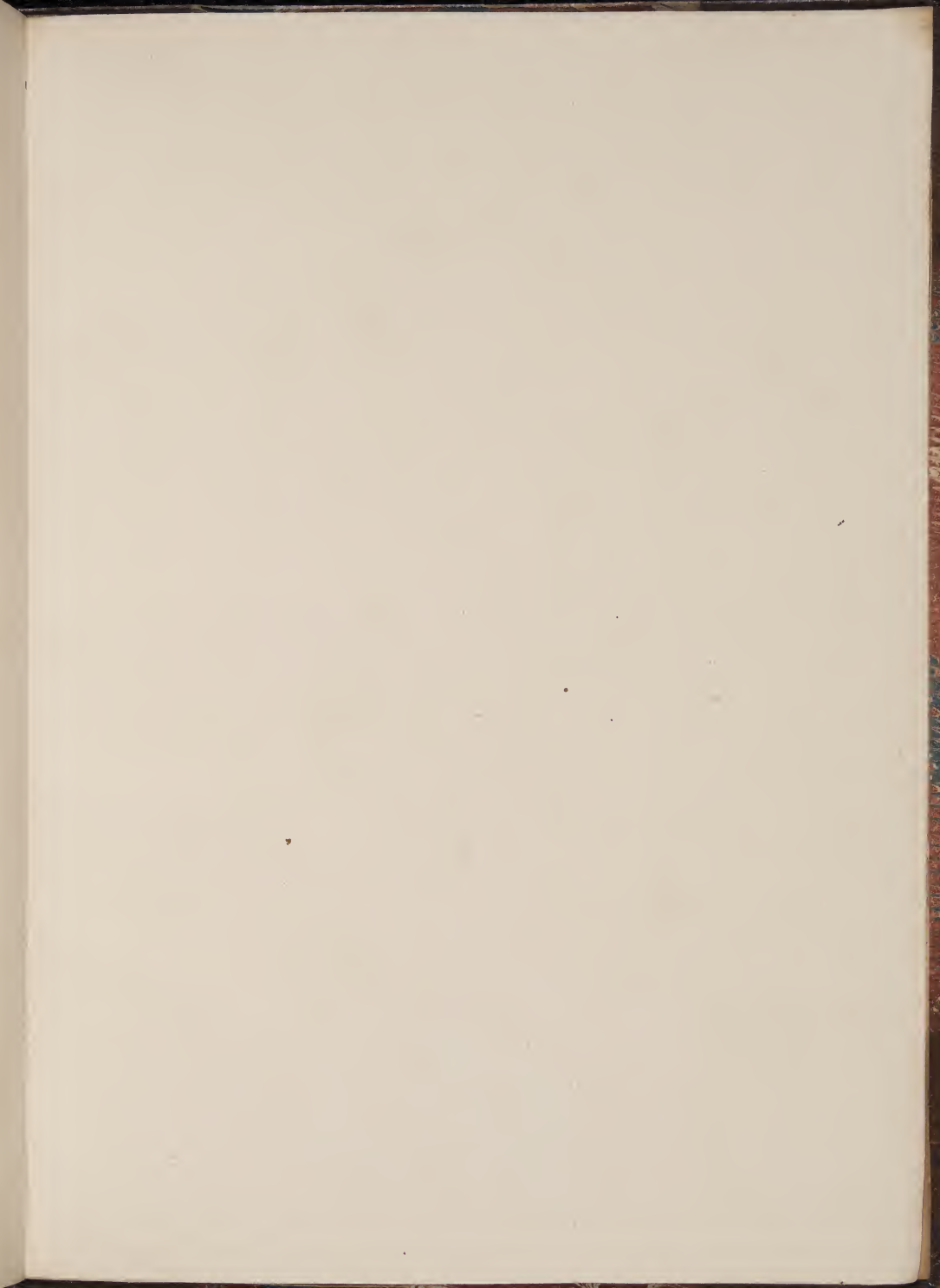
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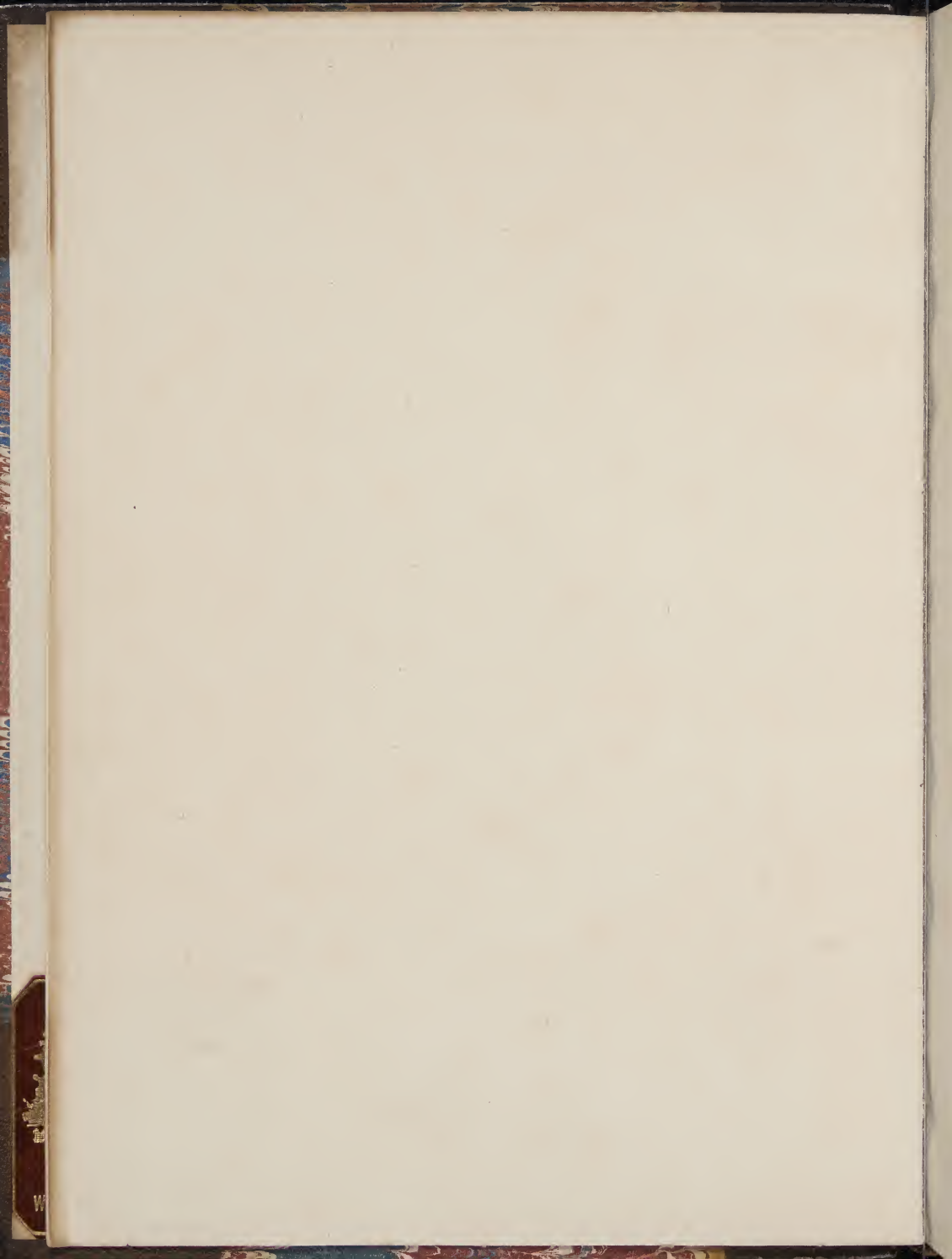


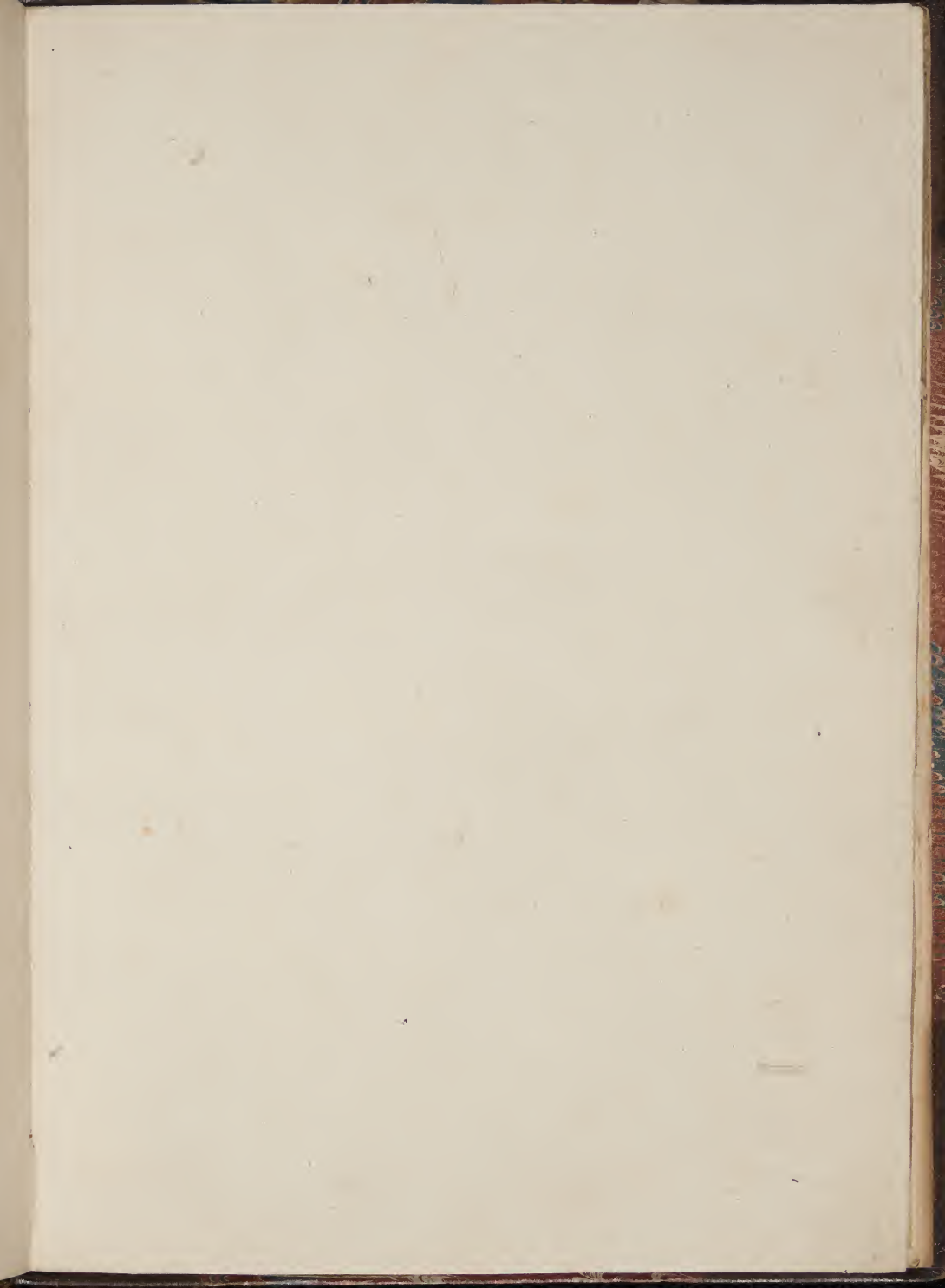
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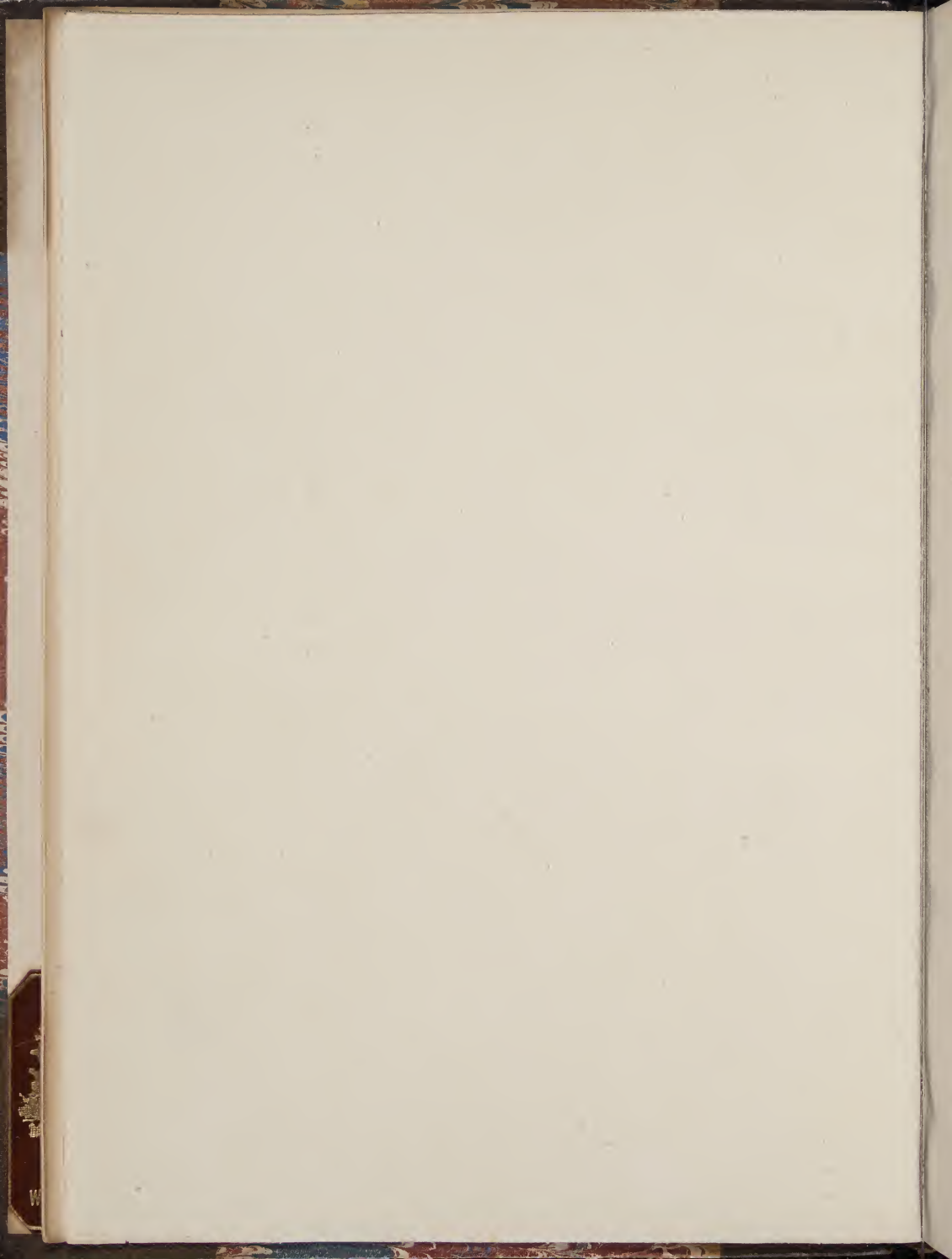


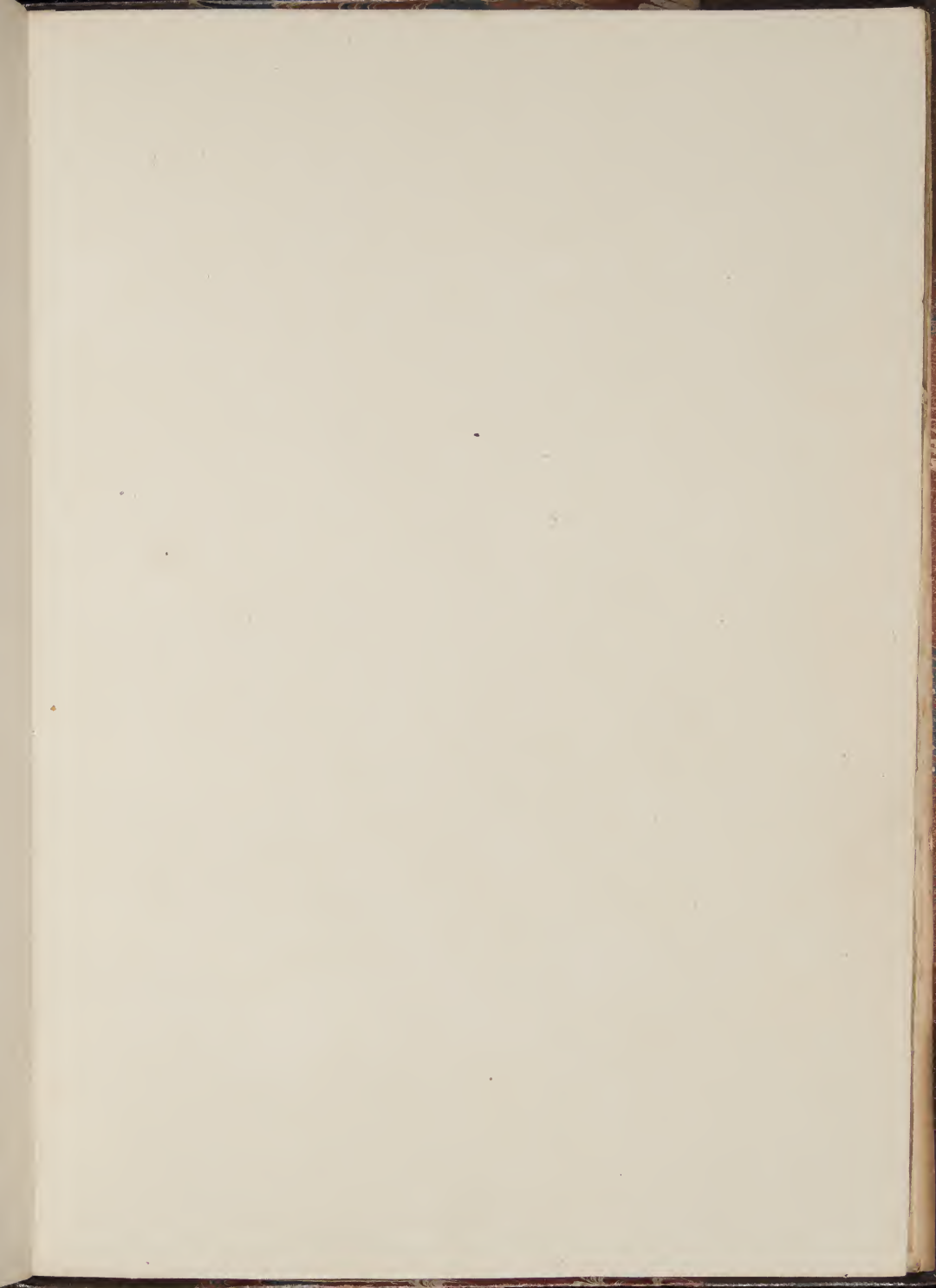


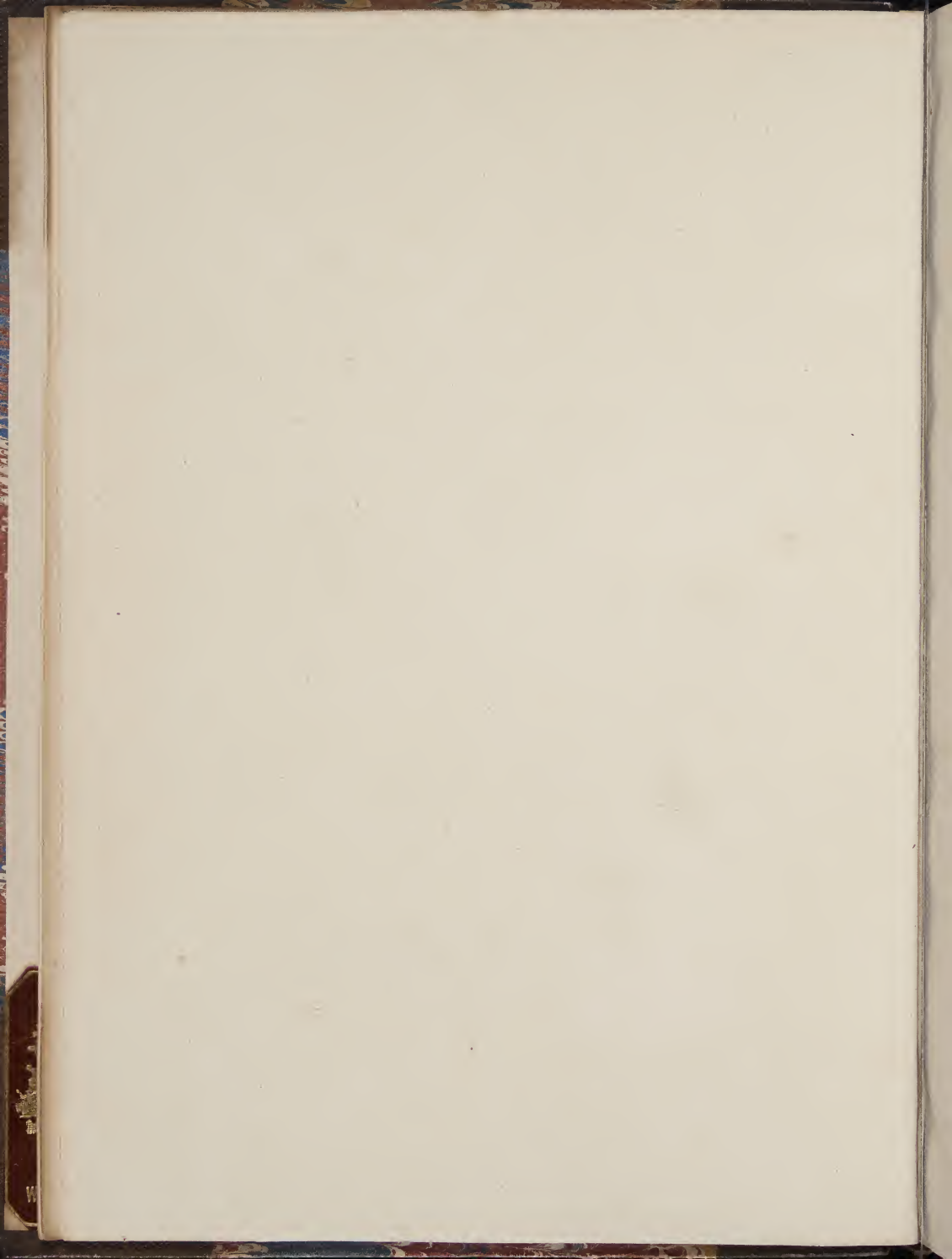


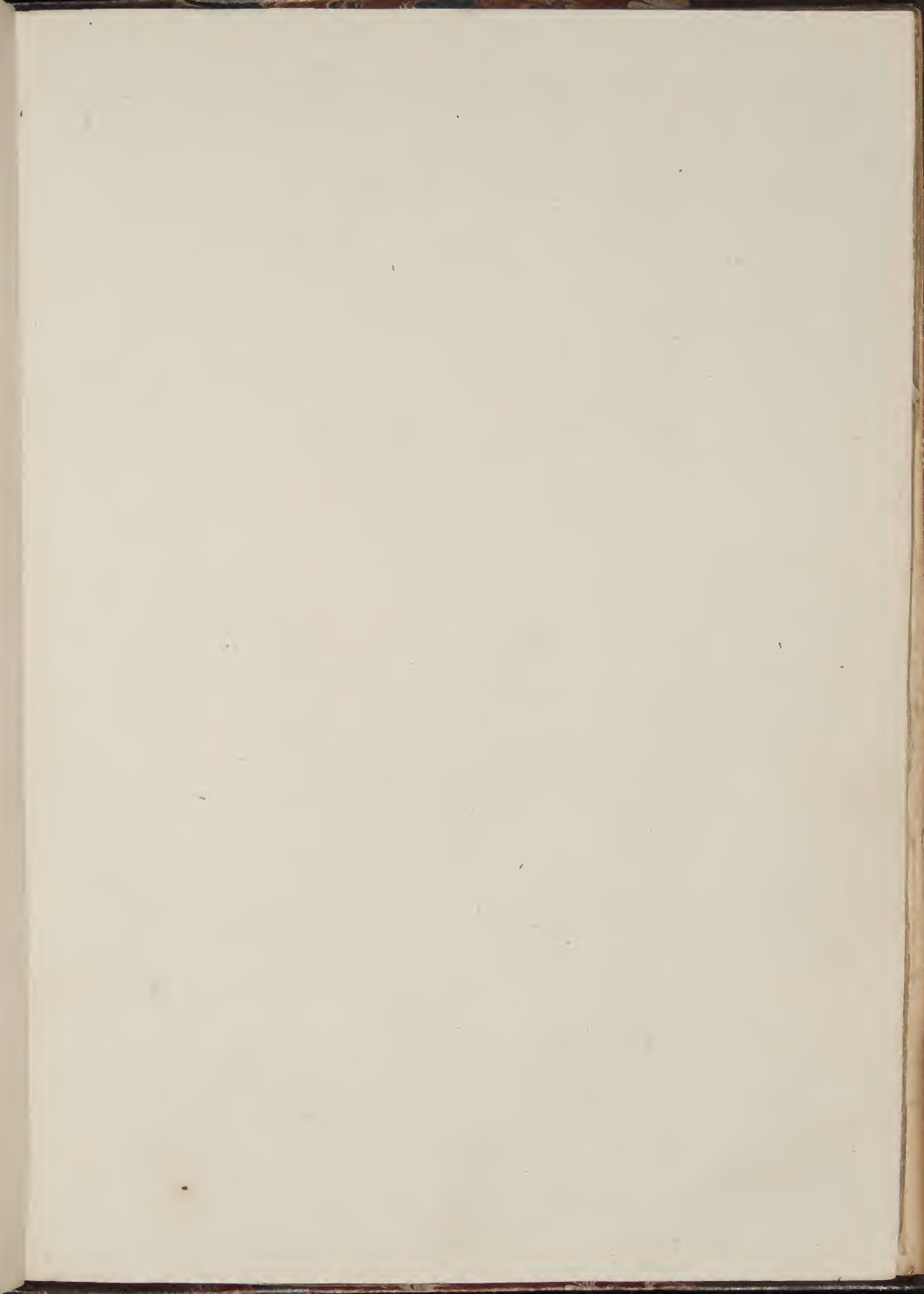












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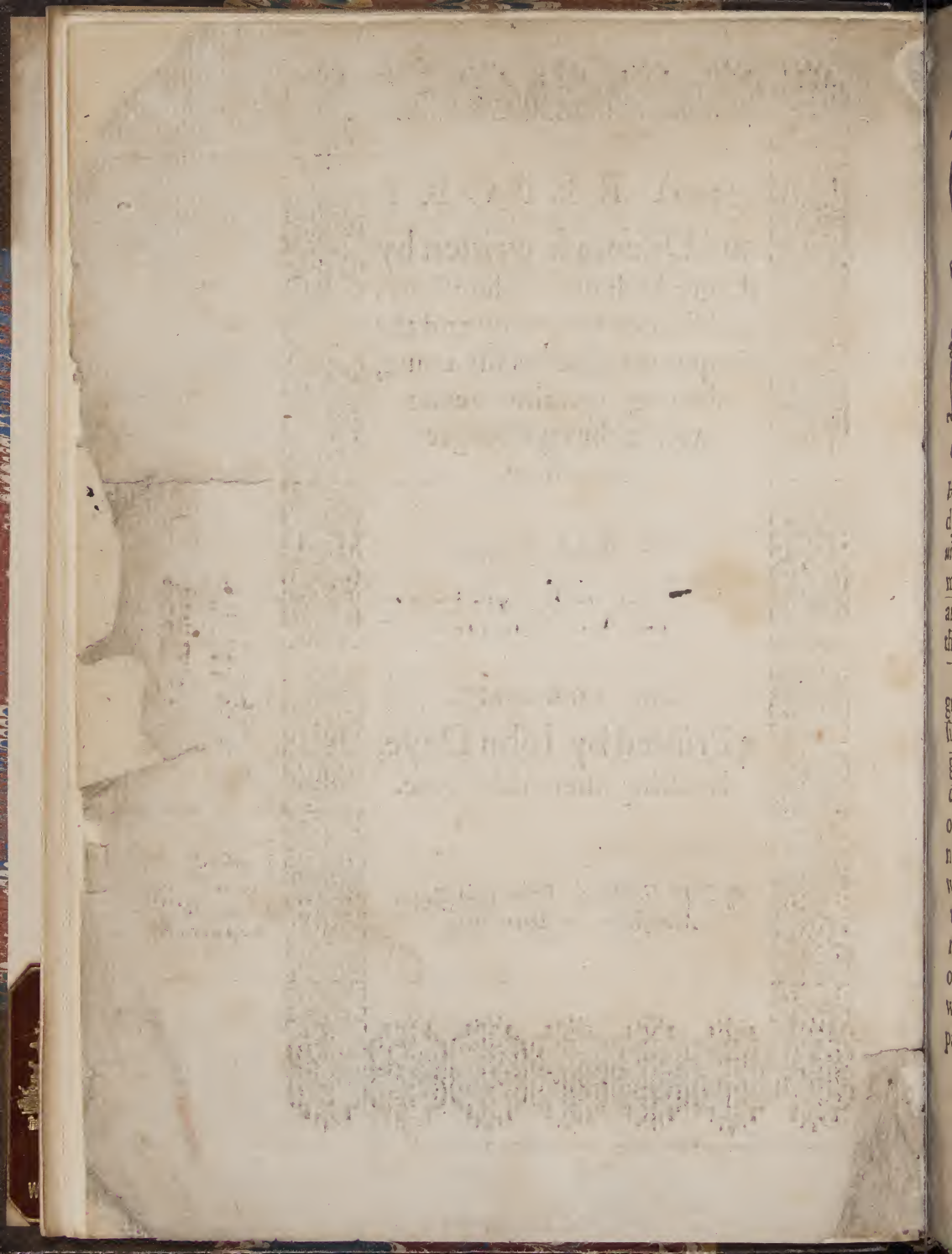
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A REPORT
and Discourse written by
Roger Ascham, of the affaires
and state of Germany and the
Emperour Charles his court,
duryng certaine yeares
while the sayd Roger
was there.

This booke perthayn

This booke perthayn
to W. Herberton
Quibon . r r r r
AT LONDON. r r

Printed by Iohn Daye,
dwelling ouer Aldersgate.

*Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regie
Maiestatis, per Decennium.*



John Astely to R. Ascham.



Now finde true by experience, which I haue oft heard of others, & sometymes read my selfe: that mē make no such accompt of commodities when they haue thē, as when they want thē. I meane this by our frendly fellowship together at *Chelston Chelsey*, and here at

Hatfield her graces house: our pleasant studies in readyng together *Aristotles Rethorike*, *Cicero*, and *Li- uie*: our free talke mingled alwayes with honest mirth: our trimme cōferences of that present world: and to true iudgementes of the troublesome tyme that followed.

These commodities I now remēber with some grief, which we then vsed with much pleasure, besides many other fruites of frendshyp that faythfull good will could affourd. And these thinckynge cause me oft to wish, either you to be here with vs, or me to be there with you: but what wishyng is nothyng els but a vayne waylyng for that which will wanteth. I wil cease from wishyng, and seeke the true remedy for this sore. And that is whilest we mete agayne in deede, in the meane while to ease our desires with oft writyng the one to the other: I would in deede I had bene partaker in your company, of that your pleasaunt absence out of your

A.ij.

coun-

*what wishyng is
nothing else but a
vayne waylyng for
that which will
wanteth.*

A Letter.

countrey: And because I was not, I pray you let me be partaker by your letters of some fruite of that your journey.

We heare of great sturres in those parties: and how the Emperour a Prince of great wisedome and great power hath bene driuen to extreme shiftes, and that by the pollicie of mean men who were thought to be hys frendes, and not by the puisantnes of others who were knowne to be his open enemies. I know you were wont in markyng diligently and notyng truely all such great affaires: And you know lykewise how desirous I am alwayes to read any thing that you write. Write therfore I pray you, that we your frendes beyng at home may enioye by your letters a pleasant memory of you in this tyme whilest you be absent abroad. Farewell in Christ from Hatfield. xix. Octobris. 1552.



R. Ascham, to Iohn Asteley.



Alutem Plurimam in Christo
Iesu. That part of your letters from Hatfield, decimo nono Octob. renewing a most pleasaunt memory of our friendly fellowship together, & full of your wonted good will towards me: I answered immediatly from

Spires by Fraunces the post: whiche letter if it be not yet come to your hand, ye might haue heard tell of it in M. Secretary Cicels chamber in the Court.

As concernyng the other part of your letter, for your wish, to haue bene with me, in this mine absence from my countrey: and for your request, to be made partaker by my letters of the sturre of these times here in Germany. Surely I would you had your wish: for then should not I now nede to bungle by yours so great a request, when presently you should haue sene with much pleasure, which now peraduenture you shall read with some doubt, lesse thynges may encrease by wrytyng which were so great in doyng, as I am moze afrayd to leaue behind me much of the matter, then to gather by moze then hath sprung of the trowth.

Your request containeth few wordes but comprehendeth both great and diuers matters. As first the causes of the open inuasion by the Turke: of the secret workyng for such soddeyne breche

A discours and affaires

in Italy, and Germany: of the fine fetches in the French practises: of the double dealing of Rome with all partes: the more particularly why Duke Octauio, the Prince of Salerne, Marches Albert, and Duke Maurice brake so out with the Emperour, which were all so fast knit vnto hym as the bondes of affinitie, loyaltie, bloud, and benefites could assure him of them: Octauio being his sonne in law, the Prince one of hys priuy chamber, Marches Albert hys kynsman, and Duke Maurice so inhaunsted with honor and enriched with benefites by hym, as the Duke could not haue wished greater in hope, then the Emperour performed in deede. Here is stufte plenty to furnish well by a trimme history if a workeman had it in handlyng. When you and I read Liue together if you do remember, after some reasonyng we concluded both what was in our opinion to be looked for at his hand that would well and aduisedly write an history: first, point was, to write nothyng false: next, to be bold to say any truth, whereby is auoyded two great faultes, flattery and hatred: for which two pointes Caesar is read to his great prayse, and Iouius the Italian to hys iust reproch. Then to marke diligently the causes, counsels, actes, and issues in all great attemptes: And in causes, what is iust or vniust: in counsels, what is purposed wisely or rashly: in actes, what is done couragiously or fayntly: And of euery issue, to note some generall lesson of wisdom & wari-nes, for lyke matters in time to come: wherein Polibius in Greeke and Phillip Comines in French haue

what thing
written of an history
should rightly respect

C. Caesar.
P. Iouius.

Polibius.
Phi. Co-
mines.

haue done the duties of wyse and worthy wri-
ters. Diligence also must be vsed in keepyng truly
the order of tyme: and describyng lyuely, both the
site of places and nature of persons not onely for
the outward shap of the body: but also for the in-
ward dispositiō of the mynde as Thucidides doth
in many places very truly, and Homer euery
where and that alwayes most excellently, which
observation is chiefly to be marked in hym. And
our Chaucer doth the same, very praise worthely:
marke hym well and conferre hym with any o-
ther that writeth of in our tyme in their proudest
tong who soeuer lyst. The stile must be alwayes
playne and open: yet sometime higher and lower
as matters do ryse and fall: for if proper and na-
turall wordes, in well iorned sentences do lyuely
expresse the matter, be it troublesome, quyet, an-
gry or pleasant, A man shal thincke not to be rea-
dyng but present in doying of the same. And here-
in Liue of all other in any tong, by myne opiniō
carieth away the prayse.

Thucidi-
des.
Homer.

Chaucer.

Titus Li-
uius.

Syr Thomas More in that pamphlet of Ri-
chard the thyrz, doth in most part I beleue of all
these pointes so content all men, as if the rest of
our story of England were so done, we might
well compare with Fraunce, Italy, or Germany or
in that behalfe. But see how the pleasant remem-
braunce of our old talke together hath caried me
farther then I thought to go. And as for your re-
quest to know the cause and maner of these late
sturies here ye shall not looke for such precise or-
der now in writyng, as we talked on then. No it

Tho. Mo-
rus.

any of the

A discours and affaires

is not all one thing to know perfectly by reading
and to performe perfectly in doying I am not so
bnaduiled to take so much vpo me, noz you so vn-
friendly to looke for so much from me. But that
you may know that I haue not bene altogether
idle in this my absence, and that I will not come
home as one that can say nothing of that he hath
sene and heard abroad: I will homely and rude-
ly (yet not altogether disorderly, part priuately
vnto you such notes of affaires as I priuately
marked for my selfe: which I either felt and saw,
or learned in such place and of such persōs as had
willes to seeke for, and wayes to come by, and
wittes to way the greatest matters that were to
be marked in all these affaires. For no wieke al-
most hath past in the which there hath not com-
monly come to my hand for the most part of the
notable thynges that haue bene attempted in
Turky, Hungary, Italy, Fraunce, and Germany.
In declaryng to you these thyngs I will obserue
onely the first two pointes of our wont commu-
nication: that is to my wrytyng I will set for-
ward nothyng that is false, nor yet keepe backe
any thyng that is true. For I playng no part of
no one side, but sittynge downe as indifferent loo-
ker on, neither Imperial nor frenche, but for En-
glish do purpose with troth to report the matter.
And seying I shall lyue vnder such a Prince, as
kyng Edward is, and in such a countrey as Eng-
lād is (I thanke God) I shall haue neither neede
to flatter the one side for profite, noz cause to feare
the other side for displeasure. Therefore let my
pur-

purpose of reportyng the troth as much content
you, as the meane handlyng of the matter may
mislike you. Yet speakyng thus much of trouth,
I meane not such a hid trouth as was onely in
the brest of Monsieur d'Arras on the Emperours
side, or in Baron Hadeck on Duke Maurice side,
with whom and with oneother of his counsell he
onely conferred all his purposes threë yeares be-
fore he brake out with y^e Emperour: but I meane
such a trouth as by conference and common cōsent
amongest all the Ambassadors and Agentes in
this Court and other witty & indifferent heades
beside was generally conferred and agreed vpon.
What better comoditie to know the trouth any
wyter in Greeke Latine or other tounge hath had,
I can not perceiue, except onely Xenophon, Cæ-
sar, and Phillip Comines: which two first worthy
writers wrote their owne actes so wisely, and so
without all suspicion of parcialitie, as no mā he-
ther to by mine opinion hath borne him selfe so vp
rightly in writyng the histories of others: The
thyrde hauyng in a maner y^e like oportunitie hath
not deserved lyke commendations, at least as I
suppose. Englād hath matter & Englād hath mē
furnished with all abilitie to write: who if they
would might bryng both lyke prayse vnto them
selues, & lyke profite to others, as these two noble
mē haue done. They lay for their excuse the lacke
of leysure which is true in deede: But if we cōs-
ider the great affaires of Cæsar we may iudge hee
was worthy to winne all praise that was so wil-
ling & wittie to winne such time when his head &

Agentes.

the praise of Xenophon
and Cæsar

Phillipp Comines

A discours and affaires

his handes night and day were euer most full, would to God that these our mē as they are ready to prayse hym were euen as willyng to follow hym, and so to wyne like prayse them selues.

And to keepe you no longer with my priuate talke from the matter it selfe, I will begyn at the spyng of the matter from whence all these mischiefes dyd flow, the which now hath so ouerflowed the most part of Christendome, as God onely from heauen must make an end of this miserable tragedie, wherein these two great Princes take such pleasure still to play. In Religion & libertie were sayd to be of many men the very causes of all these sturres: yet in myne opinion & as the matter it selfe shall well proue it, vnkynndnes was the very seide, whereof all these troubles dyd grow. A Knight of England of worthy memorie for wit, learnyng and experience old Syr Thomas Wiat wrote to his sonne that the greatest mischief amongst men and least punished is vnkynndnes: the greatest mischief truly & least punished also by any ordinary law & sentence, yet as I haue sene here by experience, vnkynndnes hath so wrought with men, as the meane were not afraid to attempt their reuēge, nor the Emperour able to withstand their displease. Nea vnkynndnes was onely the hoke, which Henry the French kyng hath vled these late yeares to plucke from the Emperour and draw to hym selfe, so many Princes and great comodities as he hath: with this hoke bayted with money the bayte of all mischief, the French kyng hath not ceased, to angle at

as

The cause
of sturres
in Italy &
Germany.

Ein Spruch vnkynnd
vntz syngnes.
vntz vnkynndnes.

money, too barbe
of all mischief.

as many harts in Italy and Germany as he knew any matter of unkindnes to bee ministred vnto, by the Emperour. There be few Princes in all the Empire but if I had leysure, I could particularly proue, and when I come home in our priuate talke I wil fully declare that some good big matter of unkindnes hath bene offred vnto them by the Emperour. Nea Ferdinando his brother, Maximilian his nephew and soune in law, the Dukes of Bauarie and Cleues which haue married his nieces haue bene shrewdly touched therewith. Also y Papisticall Bishops as Mentz, Pamburge, Herbipolis, Saltzburge, and diuers others haue felt their part hercin. Few Princes or States, Protestantes or Papistes, but haue bene troubled therewith. But euen as a quaterne in the begynnyng is a wanderyng disease in the body unknowne what it wil turne vnto, and yet at last it draweth to certaine dayes & houres: euen so these grieues in the whole body of the Empire dyd first worke secretly and not appeare openly, vntill this melancholy unkindnes did so swell in mens stomaches that at length in Insburgh it brast out into a shrewdsicknes, whereof the first fit was felt to be so dangerous, that if the Emperour and we had not more spedely chaunged the ayre, I am affrayed and sure I am we were wel affrayd then, the sickenes would haue proued also to vs that were present with hym very contagious: Well this grief growyng this to certaine fittes, and I my selfe beyng not greatly greued at y hart with it but had leysure enough with small ieoperdy

*The emperors unkindnes
to most princes of
the empire*

*the first
fit of
the disease*

*the second
fit of
the disease*

A discours and affaires

thanke God) to looke quietly vpon them that were sicke, because I would not be idle amongst them I began dayly to note the workyng of this sickenes, and namely from the xix. of May. 1552. when we ranne from Insburgh till the first of next January whē the siege of Metz was abado-
ned. Neuertheles before I come to these ordina-
ry dayes I will shortly touch how the Emperour beyng in peace with all the world. 1550. when we came to his Court, had soone after so many enemyes as hee knew not which way to turne hym.

¶ The Turke.

The brech
with the
Turke,

THe date of peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turke had to expire an. 1551. The Emperour hearyng what preparation the Turke had made the yeare before for warre and specially by Sea, which must needes be agaynst Christen-
dome, thought it better for him to ende the peace with some aduantage, thē that the Turke should begyn the warre with too much strength & ther-
fore in sommer. 1550. he sent Iohn de Vega Vice-
roy of Cicile & Andrea Dorea into Barbaria, who
wan the strong towne of Affrica from Dragut
Raies sometyne a Pirate and now the Turkes
chief doer in all the affaires of Affrike and *mare*
mediteraneo. This Court raised by other rumors of
this brech with the Turke how that this enter-
prize was made for Seripho sake a hethen kyng.
But the Emperours frend in Barbaria to whom
Dragut Rayes had done great wrong, yet men
that

that knew the troth, and are wont also to say if, haue told me that the towne of Affrica stode so fit to annoy Spayne for the Turke when he list, that the Emperour was compelled to seeke by all meanes to obtaine it, much fearyng, lest when he was absent in Germany, the Turke would be too nigh and to homely a gest with hym in Spayne whensoever the peace should be expired. The whole story of winnyng Affrica ye may read whe you list beyng wel written in Latin by a Spaniard that was present at it.

Affrica in Barbaria

Affrica was earnestly required agayne by the Turke, and sayre promised agayne by the Emperour, but beyng in deede not deliuered, the Turke for a reuenge the next yeare, first assaillted Malta and after wan Tripoly from whence the Turke may easely and soddenly whensoever hee list set vpon Cicilie, Naples, or any coast of Italie or Spayne and most commodiously, what soeuer the Emperour doth hold in Barbary: so that the gayne of Affrica is thought nothyng comparable with the losse of Tripoly.

Tripoly in barbaria

When Tripoly was besieged by the Turkes, Monsieur Daramont was sent Ambassadour to Constantinople from the French kyng: and arriuing by the way at Malta, hee was desired by the great master of the order to go to Tripoly, and for the frendshipp that was betwene Fraunce and the Turke to treat for the Christians there. Daramont did so and had leaue of the Turkes generall to enter the towne and talke with the Captaine. And by this meanes they within yelded, on this con-

A discours and affaires

dition to part safe with bag and baggage which was graunted by the generall. But as soone as the Turkes entred the towne they put old a yong, man, woman, and child to the sword sauving two hundred of the strongest men to be their Galley slaues for euer. The generall beyng asked why he kept no promise made this aunswere: If the Emperour had kept faith with my master for Affrica I would not haue broken with them of Tripoly, and therfore (sayth he) with Christen men which care for no trothe promises may iustly be broken. This Turkish crueltie was reuenged this last yeare in Hungary, when lyke promise of lyfe was made, and yet all put to the sword the Christians bidding the Turkes remember Tripoly. To such beastly crueltie the noble feates of armes be come vnto betwixt the Christen men and the Turkes. And one fact of either side is notable to bee knownen, yet horrible to be told and fouler to be followed: and it is pitie that mans nature is such, as will commonlie commend good thynges in readyng and yet will as commonly follow ill thynges in doyng.

In horrible
fact.

The Bassa of Buda, tooke in a skirmish a getleman of the kyng of Romanes: for whose deliuey men for entreaty and money for hys raunsome were sent to Buda. The Bassa appointed a day to geue them aunswere, and at time and place assigned, called for them and sent for the gentleman likewise. And soddenly came out two hangmen bare armed with great butchers kniues in theyr handes byzging with them certaine bandogges muzzled

musled kept hungry without meate of purpose:
the Bassa had them do their feate: who commyng
to the gentleman stripped him naked, and bound
him to a piller, after with their kniues they cut of
his flesh by gobbets and slang it to the dogges.
Thus þ poore gentlemā suffred grief great for þ
payne, but greater for the spight: noz so tozmēted
in feelyng his fleshe mangled with kniues, as in
seyng him selfe peece meale deuoured by dogges.
And thus as long as hee felt any payne they cut
him in collops, and after they let their dogges
lose vpon him to eate by the residue of him, that þ
grief which was ended in him being dead might
yet continue in his frendes lookyng on. They
were bad depart and tell what they saw, who ye
may be sure were in care enough to cary home
with them such a cruell message.

Not long after this, three Turkes of good esti-
mation and place, were taken by the Christen
men: for whose raunsome great summes of gold
were offred. Aunswere was made to the messen-
ger that all the gold in Turkey should not saue thē.
And because ye Turkes will eate no swines flesh,
you shall see if swine will eate any Turkish fleshe.
And so likewise great boxes were kept hungry,
& in sight of the messenger the three Turkes were
cut in collops and throwne amongst them.

For these foule deedes I am not so angry with
the Turkes that began them as I am sozry for the
Christen men that follow them. I talked with a
worthy gentleman this day both for his great ex-
perience and excellent learnyng Marc Anthonio.

407 turkes will eate
no swines fleshe.

A discours and affaires

The great
Turke.

Mustapha
the Turkes
eldest sonne

d'Anula Ambassadour of Venice with the Empe-
rour: who told me that the great Turke him selfe
(Religion excepted) is a good and mercifull, iust
and liberall Prince, wise in making and true in
performing any covenant, and as sore a reuenger
of troth not kept. He prayed God to kepe him
long aliue: for his eldest sonne Mustapha is cleane
contrary, geue to all mischief cruell, false, getting
he careth not how vniustly, and spending he careth
not how vnrchristely what soeuer he may lay
hand on, wilbe in making for his purpose, & ready
to breake for his profite all covenantes, he is
wery of quietnes and peace, a seeker of strife and
warre, a great mocker of meane men, a sore oppressor
of poore men, openly contemnyng God,
and a bent enemy agaynst Christes name and
Christen men. But to go forward with my purpose.
The Turke beyng ouerst disclosed an open
enemy to the Emperour, many meane men began
to be the bolder to put out their heades to seeke
some open remedy for theyr priuate iniuries:
Fraunce beyng at euery mans elbow to harten
and to helpe, whosoener had cause to be aggrieved
with the Emperour. And first Octauio Duke of
Parma, much aggrieved as nature well required
with his fathers death & besides that fearing the
losse not onely of his skate, but also of his lyfe, fell
from the Emperour in the end of the yeare. 1550.

March of
Italie.

● Octauio.

Pietro Aloysio Farnesio sonne to Papa Paulo
tercio Duke of Placétia: father to this Duke Octa-
uio Duke of Parma which married the Emperours
base daughter, and to Horatio Duke of Castro,
who

who of late hath married also the French kynges
base daughter, and the two Cardinals Alexand-
ro and Ramusio Farnesy, was slaine men say by
the meanes of Ferranto Gonzaga gouernour of
Millan by whose death the state of Placentia belō-
ging then to the house of Farnesia came into the
Emperour handes. The whole processe of this
mans death is at length set out in the stories of
Italie: my purpose is onely to touch it, because
hereby rose such a heate betwixt the whole famē-
ly of Farnesia and Don Ferranto Gonzaga as hath
stirred by such a smoke in Italy betwixt the Em-
perour and Fraunce. as is not like to be quenched
but with many a pooze mans bloud, as Horace
noteth wittely out of Homer, saying:

What follies so euer great Princes make:
The people therfore go to wrake.

*Quicquid delirant reges.
plebsuntur. achiui.*

Otauiio beyng sorest greened with his fathers
death and beyng best able to reuenge it was so
feared of Gonzaga that he thought hym selfe ne-
uer assured for Petro Luis death as long as Ota-
uio his sonne should lyue: for men neuer loue
whē they haue iust cause to feare, but must nedes
still mistrust without all hope of reconcilyng
whom they haue before hurt beyōd all remedy of
amendes. And yet I heard a gentlemā of Millan
say (who was sent hether to the Emperour by
Gonzaga) that Otauiio is such a Prince for good
nature and gentle behauour that he supposed
there was not one in Italy but did loue hym ex-
cept it were his maister Gonzaga. These two

*It is a settled rule
of Otauiio that; that
one who has been
once wronged, and
not forgiven, should
must not expect
forgiveness.*

C. j.

Prin

A discours and affaires

Princes beyng neighbours the one at Millan the other at Parma shewed smal frendshyp the one to the other. But Octauio was euermore wrong to the worse by many and sundry spites, but chiefly with dayly feare of hys life by popsoning: for the which fact certain persons in Parma were taken and lard fast. Neuertheles Octauios nature is so farre from seeking bloud and reuenge and so geuen to pitie and gentlenes, that although they went about not onely to geue away his state by treason, but also to take away his life by popsonyng, yea, and after that the deede was proued playnly on them, and sentence of death pronounced openly agaynst them, yet he gaue them lyfe and libertie which would haue taken both from hym.

And when Monsieur Thermes earnestly told him that where the euill were not kept in with feare of Justice, the good should neuer lyue in surretie and quietnes: his aunswere was that he so abhorred the shedding of bloud in others as he would neuer wash his handes in any: let his enemies do to him the worst they could. Addyng, that he thought it his most honor to be vnluckest such for his gentlenes which were mistaked of all men for their crueltie: wherby he hath wonne that he which of good nature can hurt none, is now of right loued of all and onely hated of him who no man in Italy for his cruelty doth loue. And this talke is so true that it was told in another language but in the selfe same termes at an honorable table here in Bruxels by a gentleman
of

of Millan an agent in the Court, a doer for Gonzaga, who the same tyme was prisoner in Parma.

And although Octauio by good nature was harmeles in not seeking reuenge, yet he was not careles by good reason in seeking hys remedy but made oft a great cōplaintes of his grienes to the Emperour, which were not so hotely made, but they were as coldly heard, that at lēgth Octauio finding least comfort, where of right he looked for most ayde, & seying that displeasures could not be ended in Gonzaga nor would not be amended by the Emperour: then he compelled agaynst his nature turned his hate due to Gonzaga to reuenge this vnderferued unkindnes in the Emperour, euen as Pausanias dyd with Phillip kyng of Macedonie, who conquering with pollicie and power all outward enemyes, was slayne when and where, he thought him selfe most sure of his dearest frend, for unkindnes, because Phillip ought and would not reuēge Pausanias on him that had done him a foule displeasure.

would

Phillip kyng of macedonia
was slayne by Pausanias
for unkindnes:
by cause perhaps ought
and would not
revenge Pausanias
on him that had done
him a foule displeasure

Octauio seying what was done to his father euen when hys graundfather was Bysshop of Rome, thought, that now as his house decayed, so his lopardy encreased. And therfore agaynst a desperate euill began to seeke for a desperate remedie, which was fet from Rome a shop alwayes open to any mischief as you shall perceiue in these few leaues if you marke them well.

Rome a Shoppe
alwayes open to
any mischief

Octauio cōplained to Iulio tercio of the wroges of Gonzaga & of the unkindnes of the Emperour, desiring that by his wisdom and authoritie, he

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would

A discours and affaires

would now succor him or els not onely he should lose his life but also the Church of Rome should lose her right in Parma, as he had done before in Placentia. The Bysshop gaue good eare to this talke, for he spied that hereby should be offred vnto him, a fit occasion to set the Emperour and Fraunce together by the eares. He thought the Emperour was to bigge in Italy hauing on þe one side of Rome Naples vnder his obedience, on the other side Siena, Florence and Genoa at his commaundement, besides Placentia, Millan, Monteferrato, and a great part of Piemount.

The Emperour beyng thus strong in Italy, the Bysshop thought his own state to be his so long as it pleased the Emperour to let him haue it: & therefore if Parma were not left an entry for Fraunce to come into Italy, he might ouersoone be shyned by in present miserie when all outward ayde should be shut out from him.

The Popes counsel was that Octauio should put him selfe vnder the French kynges protection whom hee knew would most willingly receiue him: Parma lying so fit for the French kyng, when soeuer he would set vpon the enterpryce of Millan. This practise of the Pope Monsieur de Thermes the French kynges Ambassadours dyd vtter before the consistorie of Cardinals at Rome: prouing that the Pope, not the kyng his master was the occasion of that warre.

When Octauio with the whole house of Farnesia became thus French, the Emperour more fearing the state of Millan then lamenting the losse of
of

of Octauio perswaded on his side the Bysshop of Rome to require Parma as the Churches right, & to punish Octauio as the Churches rebell, promising that he him selfe as an obedient sonne of the Church would stretch out his arme and open his purse in that recovery of the Churches right: neuertheles the Bysshop must beare the name of the warre because hee might not breake peace with Fraunce. Thus Princes openly cōtenācing quietnes & priuily brewyng debate although they got others to broch it, yet God commonly suffreth the selues to drinke most of the misery thereof in the end. The Bysshop seyng that he must either begyn the mischief or els it would not on so fast as he wished to haue it, set lustely vpon it: and first cited Octauio, after excommunicated him, and shortly after besieged Parma ayded both with mē and money by the Emperour: which thyng the French kyng began to stomach, thinckyng that y^e Emperour dyd offer him both wrong & dishonour in not suffering him beyng a kyng to helpe a poore man that fled to his ayde. And thus these two Princes first helpyng others began by litle and litle to fall out them selues. And that the Pope dyd set these two Princes together, a Pasquill made at Rome and sent to this Court doth well declare. And seyng that you so well vnderstand the Italian tounge and that if it were turned into English it would leese the whole grace therof, I will recite it in the tounge that it was made in.

Wreach &
Fraunce.

C. iij.

Inter-

A discours and affaires

Interlocutori Pasquillo et Romano.

Pasq. *H*Anno vn bel gioco il Re, et l'Imperatore
per terzo el Papá, e giocano à Primera.

Rom. *che s'è d' in vito?* Pasq. *Italia tutta intera.*

Rom. *Chi vi l' ha messa?* Pasq. *il coglion del pastore.*

Rom. *Che tien in mano il Re?* Pasq. *Ponto magiere
el Papa hacinquant' vno, e se despera.*

Rom. *Cesar che Ponto sa?* Pasq. *lui sta a Primera*

Rom. *che gli manca?* Pasq. *danari a far saure*

Il Papa dice à voi, e voll Partito:

Cesar Pensoso sta Sopra di questo,

teme à Scropir di trouar moneta

Il Re dico, no, no, Scoprite Presto,

che io tengo Ponto, a guadagnar l' in vito

I ho li danari, et Cesar se gli aspetta.

¶ *Tutti Stanno a vedetta.*

Chi di lor dui guadagni. Rom. *il Papa?* Pasq. *e fuora
vinca chi vol, lui Perda, in sua mal' hora.*

¶ *Le Imperatore anchora.*

Teme, è tien stretto, è Scopre Piau le carte,

e qui, la sorte gioca, pin che l' Arte.

¶ *Metra questi indisparte.*

Stabilito e nel Ciel quelle, che esserdé,

ne giona al nostro dic, questo Sara questo è.

The French king in the sommer. 1551. proclai-
med warre against Charles kyng of Spayne, abu-
sing that name for a sottlety to separate y^e whole
quatell from the Empire: when the Emperours
would

would not be perswaded at Augusta that either the Turke would, or the French kyng durst make him open warre, or that any Prince in Italy or Germany could be entised to breake out with him.

Monsieur Marillacke the French Ambassadour at Augusta ever bare the Emperour in hand that such rumors of war were rayled of displeasure & that his master intended nothyng so much as the continuance of amitie, yea this he durst do, when many in y^e Emperours court knew that the war was already proclaimed in Fraunce.

The Emperour blinded with the ouer good opinion of his own wisedome, liking onely what him selfe listed, and contemnyng easely all aduise of others (which selfe will condition doth commonly follow, and as commonly doth hurt all great wittes) dyd not onely at this tyme suffer him selfe thus to be abused : but also afterward more craftely by the Pope for the continuance of warre at Parma, & more boldly by Duke Maurice for his repayre to Inspruke, and not the least of all, now lately at Metz by some of his owne counsellours for the recouery of that towne.

But Princes and great personages whiche will heare but what and whom they list, at the length fayle when they would not, and commonly blame whom they should not : But it is well done that as great men may by authoritie contemne the good aduise of others: so God doth prouide by right iudgement that they haue leane in the ende to beare both the losse and shame therof them selues.

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Thus ye see how the Pope was both the brewer and brocher and also bringer of ill lucke to both these Princes, and as it came wel to passe dranke well of it him selfe both with expences of great treasures, and with the losse of many lynes and specially of two noble gentlemen, the Prince of Macedonia & Il Seign. Gionan Baptista di Monte his owne nephew: but the Popes care was neither of money nor men, so that he might set the two Princes surely together. And therfore was not onely content (as a man might say) to hasard Parma on the meyne chalice: but to make the two Princes better sporthe & fresher game, set also euē then Mirādula on a bye chaunce that mischief enough might come together.

Pope.

Parma.

Mirādula.

When the Princes were well in and the one so lusty with good lucke that hee had no lust to leaue, and the other so chafed with leesyng, that still he would venture. Besides their playing in sporthe for the Pope at Parma and Mirādula, they fell to it a good them selues in Piemoūt, Lorraine, Flaunders and Picardy, the French kyng robbing by Sea and spoyling by land, with calling in the Turke, and sturtyng vp all Princes and states that had any occasion to beare any grudge to the Emperour. Of all their neighbours onely our noble kyng, and the wise senate of Venize would be lookers on.

And when the Pope saw they were so hote at it as he well knew as the one would not stare in so great good lucke: so y other could not leaue by so much shame of losse. And although it did him

Henry 2. King of France
was in the Turke
to aide him in his
war against the Emper
our.

him good to see them cope so lustely together: nevertheless he thought it scarce his surety that they should play so nere his elbow so earnestly, least if they fell to farre out and the one should winne to much of the other, then he peradventure would compell at length the Pope him selfe which begā the play to kepe him sport afterward for that that he had in Italy. And therfore very craftely he gat them to play in an other place, and tooke by the game for Parma and Mirandula taking truce with Fraunce for certaine yeares, and bad them make what sport they would farther of in Lorraine & Picardy. And that there should lacke neither iniurie nor spite in the Popes doynges, whē the Emperour saw that whether hee would or no, the Pope would needes fall in with Fraunce, then he desired the Pope that such bastilians and fortes of fence as were made about Mirandula when it was besieged might either be deliuered to hys mens handes or els defaced that the Frenchmen might not haue them, which request was very reasonable seying the Emperour had bene at all the charge in makynge of them: But they were neither deliuered nor defaced, nor left indifferēt, but so put into the French mens handes, that Mirandula now is made very strong to the French faction by Emperours money and the Popes falsehode.

The Popes
pen place
tice.

This fact was very wrongfull of the Pope for the deede: but moze spitefull for the tyme: for euen when Duke Maurice had wonne Augusta, euen then the Pope gaue by the siege of Miran-

dula and fell in with Fraunce that care enough might come bypon the Emperour together both out of Germany, and out of Italy at once. And eue this day, 25. June, 1553. when I was writing this place, commeth newes to Bruxells, that the Pope hath of new played with the Emperour more foule play at Siena, then he dyd before at Mirandula: for whē the Emperour had bene at passing charges in keepyng a great host, for the recovery of Siena from December last vnto June: the Pope would needes become stickler in that matter betwene the Emperour, the French kyng and Siena promising such conditions to all, as neither of the Princes should lose honour and yet Siena should haue had liberties. The Emperour good man yet agayne trustyng him who so spightfully had deceaued hym before dismisled hys hoste, which done Siena was left still in the French mēshādes: who therby haue such oportunitie to fortifie it, as y^e Emperour is not like by force to recover it. Piramus Secretary to y^e Emperour told this tale to Syr Phillip Hobby & the Byshop of Westmīster openly at y^e table: which Piramus is a Papist for his life: & beyng asked how he could excuse the Popes unkyndnes agaynst his master y^e Emperour: He answered smilyng Iulius tercius is a knaue but y^e Pope is an honest mā, which saying is comō in this court. And although they wil vnderstād both y^e spight of y^e pope, & y^e shame of their master, yet are they cōtent stil to speake of y^e pope though he neuertheles still do ill to y^e Emperour.

And thus to returne to my purpose how the Pope set the
two Princes together, & Shift his owne necke a while out of
the

the halter, leauyng most vnfrendly the Emperour when he was farthest bebynd hand: and how Octauio for feare of Gonzaga, and unkyndnes of the Emperour fell with all hys famely to be French, I haue briedly passed ouer for the hall I haue to come to the matters of Germany.

¶ The Prince of Salerne.

The Emperour beyng thus set vpon by the Turke and Fraunce with open warre, and troubled by the house of Fernelia with so soddeyne breaches, and most of all embroyled with the feare of the Turres in Germany which secretly were then in workyng: the Prince of Salerne also declared hym selfe an open enemy.

This Prince in this court is much beloued for his gentlenes and openly prayes for his wisdom, & greatly lamented for his fortune, who before tyme hath done so good and faythfull service to the Emperour: that I haue heard some in this Court say, which loue the Emperour well and serue him in good place, that their master hath done the Prince so much wrong, as he could do no lesse then he dyd: who being so vniustly hadled by his enemies, the Viceroy of Naples, and so unkyndly dealt with all by hys master & Emperour, was driuen by necessitie to seeke an vnlawfull shift.

The Viceroy Don Pietro de Toledo vncle to the Duke of Alca, & father in law to the Duke of Floréce vsed him selfe with much cruelty ouer the people of Naples by exactions of money without measure, by Inquisition of mens doyngs without order, & not onely of mens doynges, but also of mens outward lookyngs, & inward thinkynges, vsing the least suspition for a sufficiēt witnes to spoyle & to kill who soeuer he lysted. And that had sutes vnto him, had as lene bene away with the losse of their right, as haue come to his presence to abyde his lokes & taunts: And (as I heard a wise gētleman of Italy say) he gaue audiēce in such tyme & place, as

*Don. description of
Don. Pietro de
Toledo Viceroy of
Naples.*

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he may easlyer in this Court speake with Monsieur d'Arras then he could in Naples with the Viceroyes Porter. And commonly he would not heare them whilest an hundred suiters should come at once, and then the Porter let them in by one and by one, euen as he fauoured, not as the matter required, commaūdyng them to be short or els they should come short in the next tyme. And so mens suites were pulled fro comon law to priuate will, & were heard not in place open to Justice but in priuate Parlors shitt by to all that came not in by fauour or money. And therfore indgements were allotted not as law appointed, but as the Viceroy listed. This fault (Cicero sayth) vndyd Caesar who drew the comon law into his own house, & so in hauing other mē's goods lost all mē's hartes and not long after his owne lyfe: for euen those that dyd helpe him plucke down Pompey, dyd after kill him for pulling downe the lawes: So we see that Princes not in gatheryng much money, nor in bearing ouer great swinge but in keping of frendes & good lawes lyue most merely & raigne most surely. But such as gape alwayes for other mens goods comonly neuer enioy y fruite of their owne: for they neuer cease to win by wrog till at length they lese by right goodes lyfe & all. And therfore it is notable y Dion. in Plato writeth to Dionisius y tyraūt, how Euripides in euery tragedy byringeth for some great vice one or other great Prince to ruine & yet not one doth cōplaine thus:

Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke of goodes.
But euery one singeth this song:

Out

*Caesar vnderstanding, for
drawing the comon
law into his
owne house*

Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke of frendes.

For a Prince that will take mens goods when he listeth without order shall want mens hartes whē he needeth wout pitie : but in haupng their hartes he shall neuer lacke their goodes , as the good kyng Cirus sayd to the rich kyng Cræsus. And to haue the peoples hartes the next way is to be gentle to euery one, iust to all and liberall to many and especially to such as either by excellency of wit or good will in true seruice do well deserue it . Also to set his chiefest ioy not in priuate pleasure like Sardanapalus , but in commō wealth as we haue example of Titus Vespasianus : and to thinke his treasure greatest, not when his coffers be fullest as Cræsus dyd , but when his subiectes be richest as Cyrus dyd & that through hys wisdom and care as all prayse worthy princes haue euer hetherto done. And what will the people render agayn to such a Prince? A small subsidy, with a great grudge : no , but their whole hartes to loue him: their whole goodes to ayde hym : theyr handes ready to defende hym, and theyr lyues as ready to dye for hym when soeuer he shall haue neede . A Prince that thus doth lyue and thus is loued at home may be enuyed with much prayse, and hated with smal hurte of any power abroad.

And therfore haue I heard wisemen discomend the gouernement in Fraunce in makynge theyr people almost slaues , and from thence a common saying of some in England , that would haue the people neither witty nor wealthy when wit is the meare gift of G O D: So that to wish

Sp: John
Gates
with.

men lesse wit that haue it, is to count God scarce
wise that gaue it. And wealth of the people as
Scripture sayth is the glory of a Prince, and se-
cret of hys raigne. But suspicion in all gouerning
breedeth such sayinges, when wrong doth beare
such swynge, as ill conscience doth alwayes wisht
that men should lacke either wit to perceauie or
habilitie to amende what soeuer is done amisse.
But God send such Achitophels better ende then
their counsels doth deserue: which would serue
wise by other mens folly, and would be rich by o-
ther mens pouertie.

Achitophels

To returne to the Viceroy of Naples the com-
mon opinion of those in this Court which haue
priuate cause to say wel on him do speake it bold-
ly and openly, that he was such a one as neuer
could content his couetousnes with money, nor
neuer satisfie his crueltie with blood: And so by
this foule meane many gentlemē in Naples haue
lost some theyr liues but moe theyr liuynges, and
almost all theyr libertie. And there be at this day
as men say here that know it a good sort of thou-
sandēs Neapolitanes, named Foriensuti, who be-
yng spoyled at home by violence, robbe other a-
broad for neede, which comber so the passage be-
twixt Rome and Naples, as no man departeth
commonly from Rome without company which
commineth to Naples without robbing.

foriensuti
Gods be the
good me and
Naples

The whole body of the kyngdome of Naples
was so distempered inwardly with this misor-
der, with a litle outward occasion it would easi-
ly haue burst forth into a foule soze. A lesse mate-

ter then the ravishyng of Lucrece, A meaner ayde
then the helpe of Brutus, was thought sufficient
to haue stirred by this inward grudge to open
renenge. But see how God provided for the Em-
perour and the quyet of that kingdome: for God
in takyng away one Spanyard hath made Naples
now more strong, then if the Emperour had set
xx. thousand of the best in Spayne there: for euen
this last Lent. 1553. Don Pietro di Toledo dyed at
Florence by whose goyng away mens hartes in
Naples be so come agayne to the Emperour, as he
shall now haue lesse neede either to care for the
snye fetches of Fraunce, or to feare the great pow-
er of the Turke. A gentelman of this Court a true
seruaunt to the Emperour sayd merely in a com-
pany where I was, that his master the Empe-
rour had won more in Naples by the death of the
viceroy, then he had lost in Lorraine by the for-
gyng of Metz.

*the death of Don
pietro di Toledo, viceroy
of Naples 1553.*

But to my purpose not many yeares agoe di-
uers in Naples made their cōplaint to the Prince
of Salerne of their griefes, who was thought
would be most willing for his good nature, and
best able for his authoritie to seeke some remedie
for them by way of intercessiō to the Emperour.

The Prince beynge here at Bruxels humbly be-
sought hys Maiestie to pitie the miserie of hys
poore subiectes: who by this sure gat of the Em-
perour for hys clientes, wordes without hope:
and of the Viceroy for him selfe hatred without
ende. The Prince yet alwayes bare hym selfe
so wisely, that he could not without some sturre

A discours and affaires

be thrust downe openly : and ridyng on his iourney he was once shot with a dagge secretly.

Thus he seying no ende of displeasure in the Viceroy no hope of remedy in the Emperour, when he saw the Turke on the Sea, the French kyng in the field, Duke Maurice and the Marches by, and a good part of Italy either risen, or ready to rise, thinkyng the tyme come of theyr most hope for helpe by the Princes, and of least feare of punishment by the Emperour, came forth to play his part also amongst the rest : who whē flyng first to the French kyng and after by hys counsell as it is sayd to the Turke, is compelled to venture bypon many hard fortunes. And what succes he shall haue either of helpe in Fraunce or comfort of the Turke, or mercy of the Emperour I can not yet write. But this last winter he hath lyen in the Ile of Cio, and now I heare say this sommer he is on the Sea with 63. Gallies of the Turkes at his commaundement, what enterpryce he will make, or what successe he shall haue when we shall heare of the matter, I trust I shal either by some priuate letter from hence or by present talke at home fully satisfie you therein.

¶ Albert Marches of Bradenburge.

Marches
Alberts
booke and
the cōtents
therof.

Albert Marches of Bradenburge in the begynnyng of his sturre . 1552 . wrote a booke and set it print wherein he declared the causes of hys falling from the Emperour wittely alledgyng common misery as a iust pretence of hys priuate enterpryse makyng other mens hurtes, his reme-

dy

Dy to heale his own sores and common wronges
hys way to reuenge priuate displeasures: shew-
yng liberty to be lost, and Religion to be defaced,
in all Germany, lamentyng the long captiuitie of
the two great Princes: and all the disposseßyng
of hys father in law Duke Otto Henrick: soze en-
ueyng against the pryde of the Spanyardes and the
authoritie of straungers, which had now in their
handes the seale of the Impiere, and in theyr
swyng the doyng of all thynges, and at their co-
mainpement all such mens voyces as were to be
called the Imperiall Dietes: cōpellyng the Ger-
manes in their owne countrey to vse straunge
toyngs for their priuate sutes, wherin they could
say nothyng at all, or nothyng to the purpose: v-
sing *Camera Imperialis* at Spires for a common key
to open all mens coffers when they listed and
these were the chiefest points in Marches booke.

Soze and
iust com-
playntes.

The Marches also soze enueyed agaynst Luice
de Auila for writyng, and agaynst the Emperour
for sufferiug such a booke as Luice de Auila wrote:
wherein the honor of Germany and the Princes
therof & by name Marches Albert, who was in y
first warres on the Emperours side, was so defa-
med to all the world: yea the Marches was so
thoroughly chafed with this boke, y when I was
in the Emperours court he offered y combat with
Luice de Auila, which the Emperour for good wil
and wise respectes would in no case admit.

The booke
of Luice de
Auila.

Not onely the Marches but also the Princes
at the Diet of Passau this last yeare made a com-
mon complaint of this booke. I knew also the

E. s.

good

A discours and affaires

good old Prince Fredericke Pallgrau of p Rhene in September last when the Emperour lay at Landaw beside Spires, goyng with his great army to Metz, complayned to the Emperour hym selfe and to his counsell of a certaine spightfull place in that booke against him: The good prince told me this tale him selfe at hys house in Heldirge whē I caried vnto him kyng Edwardes letters, the Lord Ambassadour him selfe beyng sicke at Spires.

The duke
of Bauiere
vnrindly
handled.

And wise men say that the Duke of Bauiere, also is euill contented for that which is written in that booke agaynst his father when he deserued of the Imperials, to haue bene rewarded rather with prayle and thanks then with any vnrindly note of blame and dishonour: of whom the Emperour in his warres agaynst the Lansgrau and the Duke of Saxonie receiued such kindnes, as no Prince in Germany for all respectes in p case was able to affourde hym: as first he had his whole countrey of Bauiere for a sure footyng place, to begyn the warre in: and had also both men and bitaile of hym what he would, and at lēgth should haue had that countrey his onely refuge, if that in warre he had come to any vnderdele as he was like enough to haue done. But it was Gods secret will and pleasure to haue the matter then go as it did: And for that cause men say Duke Albert of Bauiere that now is that hath maryed the Emperours niece, was more straunge this last peare to the Emperour, when he was driven to that extremitie to fflye away on the night from

In.

Duke Albert of
Bavaria

Inspurge and was more familiar with Duke Maurice, and more friendly to the Princes confederate then els peradventure he would haue done.

And here a writer may learne, of Princes affaires a good lesson to beware of parcialitie either in flattery, or spight: For although thereby a man may please his owne Prince presently yet he may perchaunce as much hurt hym in the end as Luis de Auila dyd hurt y^e Emperour his master in wrytyng of this booke. In deede this booke was not y^e chieffest cause of this sturre in Germany: but sure I am that many Princes in Germany were sore agreedued wth it, as the Emperour wated both they^r hartes & their handes whē he stode in most nede of frendes: Just reprehension of all vices as folie, vniust dealing, cowardice, and vicious lynyng, must be frely and franckly vsed, yet so with that moderate discreffion as no purposed malice or bēt hatred, may seeme to be the breeder of any false reproch which humor of wrytyng followeth so full, in Paulus Iouius bookes, and that by the iudgement of his owne frendes, as I haue heard wise and well learned men say: that his whole study and purpose is spent on these pointes, to deface the Emperour, to flatter Fraunce, to spite England, to belye Germany, to prayse the Turke, to keepe vp the Pope, to pull downe Christ and Christes Religion, as much as lyeth in hym. But to my purpose agayne.

The matters before of me briesly rehearsed, were at large declared in Maches Albertes booke: yet that you may know what secret woꝝ

C.ij.

kyng

*A copy of
Paulus Iouius
his history.*

A discours and affaires

kyng went before this playne writyng and open
Doyng. And because the Marches part hath bene
so notable in all this pastime, I will by more par-
ticular circumstaunces lead you to this generall
complaintes.

*Pop Marquis 166.
01. Brandenburg.*

There be at this day fīue Marchesses of Bra-
denburge: Ioachimus Elector, Iohānes his brother
who for Ciuile seruice is Imperiall with might
and mayne, & yet in Religion a Christian Prince
with hart tounge & honesty of lyfe: Doctour Chri-
stopher Monte, both a learned and wise man, our
kynges Maiestie seruauent and his Agent in the
affaires of Germany hath told me diuers tymes,
that this Marches Iohn and the Duke of Swa-
burg, be two of the worthiest Princes in all the
Empier either in considering wisely, or executing
courageously any great affaire. The thyrd is
Marches George who dwelleth in Franconia not
farre from Noremberg. The fourth Marches Al-
bert the elder the mighty Duke of Prusia habile
for his power to cope with any Prince, and xv.
yeres together he dyd stoutly withstand in con-
tinuall warre the strength of the kyng of Pole.
He hath so fully banished Papistry and so surely
established the doctrine of the Gospell in Prusia,
as no where hether to in Germany is more dili-
gently done, he loueth learnyng and honoreth
learned men, and therfore. an. 1544. he founded
a new Uniuersitie in Prusia called Mons Regius
bryngyng thether with plentyfull thynges excel-
lent learned men in all tounes and sciences. He
is bucle to this notable Marches Albert, and lac-
kyng

Duke of
Prusia.

*Marquis Albert
Duke of Prusia
founded a new
Uni. in
Prusia called
Mons Regius A. 1544.*

kyng children hath made him his heyre, and hath already inuestured hym in the Dukedome of Prusia.

The fift is Marches Albert of whom I purpose to write on: whose father was Cassimirus descended from the kynges of Pole, and for his noblenes agaynst the Turke called Achilles Germanicus: and therfore might very well engender such a hoate Pirrus. Marches Albert in hys young yeares as I haue heard wile men say, was rude in hys maners, noz did not shew any token of towardnes likely to attempt any such affaires as in deede he hath done. It might be either for the lacke of learnyng and good bringyng vp (a great and common fault in great Princes of Germany) or els for his bashfull nature in youth, which property Xenophon wittely sayned to be in Cyrus at like yeares iudgyng bashfulnes in youth to be a great token of vertue in age.

Marches Albert is now at this day about xxxi. yeares old: of a good stature, neither very high, noz very low, thicke without grosenes: rather wel boned for strength, then ouerloded with flesh: his face fayre, bewtifull, brode, sterne, and manly: somewhat resembling my Lord Marches of Northt. when he was of the same yeares, his eyes great and rowlyng, makyng his countenance cherefull when he talketh: and yet whē he geneth eare to other he kepeth both a sadde looke without signe of suspicion, and also a well set eye without token of malice: And this behauiour I marked well in hym when I dynded in his com-

Cassimirus Achilles Germanicus.

lacke of learning, and
good bringyng upp, is a
great and common fault
in great princes of Germany
Xenoph. a.

XUPA.
Bashfulnes in youth
is a great token of vertue
in age.

of Xenophon
of Marquis de Mont

A discours and affaires

pany at the siege of Metz, in the County Iohn of Nassaus tent, his voyce is great and his wordes not many, more ready to here other then to talke him selfe. And when he talketh he so frameth hys toung to agree with hart, as speakyng and meanyng seemeth to be alwayes at one in hym, and herein he may be well called the sonne of Achilles whom Homer wittely doth sayne to haue such a free open nature: whose saying in Greeke is excellent, but beyng turned in the wrong side into English, it shall lesse delight you yet thus much it signifieth:

A free open nature
in English,

Who either in earnest or in sport,
doth frame hym selfe after such sort:
This thyng to thincke and that to tell,
my hart abhorreth as gate to hell.

Homer, meanyng hereby that a Prince of noble courage should haue his hart, his looke, hys toung, and his handes so alwayes agreeyng together in thinkyng, pretendyng, and speakyng, and doyng, as no one of these foure should at any tyme be at iarre with an other, which agreeyng together in their right tune, do make a pleasaunt melody in all mens eares both sweetest and loudest, called in English (honor) and most fitly in Greeke Τῆτις, the price and prayle of vertue.

And though the Marches be free to say what he thinketh, yet he is both secret in purposyng & close in workyng what soeuer hee goeth about. Now very skillfull to do harime to others, and as ware to keepe hurte from hym selfe, yet first bet
vnto

unto it with his own rod: for in y^e former warres
of Germany being on y^e Emperours side he fell in-
to the handes of Duke Iohn Fridericke of Saxony,
which chaunce he is charged soze withall by Luice
de Auila and that with so spight full and open a
mouth, as moued the Marches to offer hym the
combat as I sayd before. He is now most coura-
geous in hardest aduentures, most cherefull in
present leoperdy, and most paynesfull in greatest
labours: hauyng no souldier vnder him, that can
better away with heate and cold or longer suffer
hunger and thurst then he him selfe. His apparell
is souldier like, better knowen by his scarce do-
ynges then by his gay goyng: His souldiours
feare him for his stoutnes, and loue him for his li-
beralitie: which winneth to him authoritie fit for
a stout Captaine, and worketh in them obediēce
due to good souldiours.

This last yeare a litle before hys agreement wth
the Emperour hys souldiours for lacke of money
& meate fell to mutenyng and then fell the Mar-
ches fastest to hangyng, not hidyng him selfe for
feare, but comyng abroad with courage, did pro-
test that neither the proudest should make misor-
der without punishmet nor yet the poorest should
lacke as long as either he had peny in hys purse
or loafe of bread in his tent. And after this sort of
outward behauiour and inward condition in
Marches Albert, as I haue marked his person
my selfe and as I haue learned hys doynges by
such as by experience knew them well & for they
honesty would repozte them right and now how

*So marguerite better
knowne by his fauour
domyt's son by J.B.
gay's son*

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he fell frō the Emperour I wil as brievely declare.

The Marches serued the Emperour as I said before in the former warres in Germany agaynst the Lansgraue and the Duke of Saxony, where he lost some honour and spent much money. The Emperour shortly after came downe hether to Bruxels hauyng the Marches in his company, who looking for a great recompēce of hys costes, and receiuyng litle, and seying his honor not onely defaced in the field presently when he was taken prisoner, but also defamed for euer by writing confirmed by the Emperours priuiledge to grow abroad in the world began to take the matter so vnkindly, that he left comming to the Court, and kept his owne house: rising euery day very early: and writing all the forenoone very diligently yet what he did no man knew: so that his absence breed a talke in the Court, and his suddain and secret study wrought a wonderfull gelousy of his doynages in the Emperours head: for he knew the Marches to haue courage enough to attēpt matters ouer great: and therfore sent Mōsieur Granduill: vnto the Marches house as of hym selfe to grope out his doynages, who declared vnto the Marches & Emperours great goodwil towards hym, shewyng that his Maiestie was purposed to make him a great personage, & to begyn withall had in mynde to geue hym a goodly and profitable office in all his Mintes.

The Marches answered roundly and plainly to the first, that the Emperour could not make him greater then he was, beyng Marches of Brā-

den.

denburge: And as for his office in the Minte, he said smiling, he vsed not oft to tell his owne money, & therefore he thought not to make the accopt of others & so made nothing of the Emperours offer: onely hee desired Grandeuill that the Emperour would geue him leaue to go home to his owne, which he obtained: And at his departure the Emperour gaue him a patent of 4000. crownes by the yeare: But the Marches was not well foure miles out of Bruxels, when he sent the patent by post to the Emperour agayne saying: his Maiestie might better bestow it on some that had more neede of it. And in deede the Marches is as loth to receiue of his frendes by beneuolence, as he is ready to take from his enemies by violence which cometh somewhat of to stout a courage.

Thus the Marches came home not best contented as it may well appeare: nor saw not the Emperour after till he met hym at the siege of Metz. Casimirus his father and the Marches hym selfe were great spenders and deepe detters: the one for his stoutnes in warre, the other for his lustines in youth. And therefore became quicke borrowers & slow payers, which thynge brought the Marches into such trouble as hee had with the City of Noremburge with his neighbours the Bishop of Herbipolis and with his Godfather the Bishop of Pamberge.

The Marches was no sooner come home, but these Bishops spring their tyme, when he had left the Emperours Court, and had quite lost or much lessened his frendship there, bega to trouble

I. J.

him

*T. a. ... and ...
... of ...
... and ...
... from ...*

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him with new suites for old debtes in *Camera Imperiali*. at Spire, where the Harches because hee lacked either fauour in the Court, or experience in young yeares, or good matter on his side, was alwayes wrong to the worst, and to stusse by his stomach with more matter of unkindnes against the Emperour, it is sayd that letters from the greatest in the Emperours Court were neuer lackyng at Spire to helpe forward processe against the Harches.

Shortly after this tyme begā the sieg of Madenburg where Duke Maurice by the Emperour was appoynted generall. The Harches either weery of leesyng at home by suites, or desirous to winne abroad by warre, or els purposing to practise some way to reuenge his displeasures made him ready to serue against Madenburg with 500. horse. And in the begynnyng of the spryng of the yeare. 1551. he set forward and in his way went to visite Ernestus his cosin Duke of Saxony brother to Iohn Fridericke the prisoner with the Emperour. The selfe same time Lazarus Swendy was sent from the Emperour as Commissary to Duke Ernestus with earnest commaundement that the Duke and all his, should receiue the doctrine of the Interim. And that I may accomplish my purpose, which is to paynt out as truely as I can, by wrytyng, the very Image of such persons as haue played any notable part in these affaires: and so you beyng absent shall with some more pleasure read their dorynges. This Lazarus Swendy is a tall and a comely personage, and beyng brought

Ernestus. duke of
Saxony. brother to
Iohn Friderick the
Emperours prisoner

Lazarus
Swendy.

brought by in learning vnder Oecolampadius at Basile making (as it was told me by an honest man that was thoroughly acquainted with hym there) more accompt of his tall stature, the of any bewty of the mynde, began to be wery of learning, and became desirous to beare some bragge in the world: and so made a souldiour, mard a scholer, & because he would make a lusty chaunge from the feare of God and knowledge of Christs doctrine, he fell to be a peruerse and bloudy Papist: euer at hand in any cruell execution agaynst the poore Protestantes as commonly all such do which so wittingly shake of Christ, and his Gospell: such a Commissary you may be sure would cruelly enough execute his office.

Duke Ernestus told the Commissary that he, his landes, and lyfe were at his Maiesties commaundement, his Maiestie knew how quietly he bare him selfe alwayes, & therfore his trust was as he willingly serued the Emperour with true obedience: so he might as freely serue God with right conscience: for he would rather leaue hys landes and goodes and all to the Emperour, and go beg with his wife & children, then they would forsake the way of the Gospell which God hath commaunded them to follow.

And marke how evidently God dyd declare both how much such a Commission sent out abroad in Germany agaynst him and hys word dyd displease him: and also how much the prayers and sighyng hartes of iust men do in tyme preuaile with hym: for as a man of much honesty & great

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knowledge in all the matters of Germany did tell me, as soone as this Commissio was once abroad, the practises in Germany began to stirre, yet not so openly as the Emperour might haue iust cause to withstand them, nor so couertly but he had occasion enough to mistrust them: and thereby he both lacked helpe for open remedy, and wanted no displeasure for inward grief.

Duke Ernestus, Marches Albert, and Lazarus Swendy sate at supper togethers: & as they were talkyng of y^e Interim, the Marches soddenly brast out into a fury sayyng: what deuill? will y^e Emperour neuer leaue striuyng with God in defacyng true Religio and tossyng the world in debarryng all mē's liberties? addyng, that he was a Prince unkynd to euery man, and kept touch with no mā, that could forget all mens merites, & would deceiue whom soener he promised.

The Duke liked not this hoate talke in hys house and at his table, but sayd: Cousin you speake but merely, and not as you thincke, adding much the prayse of the Emperours gentlenes shewed to many, and of his promise kept withall. Well (quoth the Marches) if he had bene either kynde where men haue deserued or would haue performed that hee promised: neither should I at this tyme accuse hym, nor you haue sit here in this place to defende hym, for he promised to geue me this house with all the landes that thereto belongeth: but ye be affrayd Cousin (quoth y^e Marches) lest this talke be to loud, and so heard to farre off: when in deede if the Commissarie here, be so honest

nest a man as I take him, and so true to his master as he should be, he will not faile to say what he hath heard, and on the same condition Commissary I bying thee good lucke, and draunke of bin to hym a great glasse of wine. Lazarus Swendyes talke then sounded getly and quietly, for he was sore affrayed of the Marches. But he was no sooner at home with the Emperour, but word was sent straight to Duke Maurice that the Marches who was as the come to Madenburg if he would needes serue there, should serue without wages.

He may be sure the Marches was chafed a new with this newes who already had lost a great sort of hys men and now must leese hys whole labour thether, and all his wages there, besides the losse of hys honour in takyng such shame of hys enemies, & receiuyng such unkyndnes of the Emperour.

The Marches was not so greened but Duke Maurice was as well contented with this commaundement: for euen then was Duke Maurice Secretary practisynge by Baron Hadeckes aduise with the French kyng for the sturre which dyd follow: and therfore was glad when he saw the Marches might be made hys so easely whiche came very soone to passe: so that the Marches for the same purpose in the ende of the same yeare went into Fraunce secretly, and was there with Shertly as a commō Launce knight, and named hymselfe Captaine Paul, lest the Emperour spials should get out his doynges: where by the aduise of Shertly hee practised with the French kyng for

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the warres which followed after. This matter was told unto me by Iohn Mecardus one of the chief Preachers in August¹, who beyng banished the Emperie, when and how ye shall heare after was fayne to flye, and was with Shertly the same yeare in Fraunce.

Dector Halius
The Marches came out of Fraunce in the begynnyng of the yeare. 1552. and out of hand gathered by men, but his purpose was not knowne, yet the Emperour mistrusted the matter, beyng at Insburg, sent Doct. Halius one of hys counsell, to know what cause he had to make such sturre. This Doct. Halius was once an earnest protestat, and wrote a booke on that side, & was one of the Palsgraues priuy counsell: But for hope to chime higher, he was very ready to be entised by y^e Emperour to forsake first his master & then God: By whō the Emperour knew much of all y^e Princes Protestants purposes, for he was commonly one whom they had vsed in all their Dietes and priuate practises: which thing caused the Emperour to seeke to haue hym: that by his head he might the easelyer ouerthrow the Protestantes, & with them God and hys word in all Germany.

This man is very lyke M. Parrie her graces cofferer in head, face, legges and bellie. What answere Halius had I can not tell, but sure I am the Marches then both wrote his booke of complayntes agaynst the Emperour, and set it out in Punte. And also came forward with banner displayed, and tooke Dillyng vpon Danuby the Cardinall of Augustas towne, which Cardinall with

a few Priestes fled in post to the Emperour at Insprug, where he found so cold cheare, and so litle comfort, that forthwith in all hast, he posted to Rome.

Horsemen and footemen in great companies still gathered to the Marches: and in the ende of March he marched forward to Augusta, where he, Duke Maurice, the young Landgraue, the Duke of Mechelburg, George, and Albert, with William Duke of Brunswycke, and other Princes confederate met together and besieged that Citie, where I will leaue the Marches till I haue brought Duke Maurice and hys doings to the same time, and to the same place.

¶ Duke Maurice.

Not many yeares agoe whole Saxony was chiefly vnder two Princes: the one Duke Iohn Fredericke boine Elector, who yet liueth, defender of Luther, a noble setter out, and as true a follower of Christ and his Gospell: The other hys kynsmen Duke George who is dead, knight of the order of the Golden Fleete, a great mā of the Emperour, a maintainer of Cocleus, and a notable pillar of Papistry.

Duke Iohn Fredericke is now 50. yeares of age, so byg of personage as a very strong horse is scarce able to beare hym & yet is he a great Deale bygger in all kynde of vertues, in wisdom, iustice, liberalitie, stoutnes, temperancy in hym self, and humanitie towards others, in all affaires, and either fortunes vsing a singular trouth and

Iohn Fredericke Duke of Saxon.

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stedfastnes: so that Luice de Auila, and the Secretary of Ferrare who wrote the story of the first warres in Germany, and professe to be his earnest enemies both for matters of state and also of Religion, were so compelled by his worthynes to say the truth as though they onely purpose had bene to write his prayse. He was five yeares prisoner in this Court, where he wan such loue of all men, as the Spanyardes now say: they would as gladly fight to set hym by agayne as euer they dyd to pull hym downe: For they see that he is wise in all his doynges, iust in all hys Dealynges, lowly to the meanest, princely with the biggest, and excellyng gentle to all, whom no aduerlitie could euer moue, nor pollicy at any tyme entice to shrinke from God and his word. And here I must needes commend the Secretary of Ferrare, who beyng a Papist, and wrytyng the history of the late warres in Germany, doth not kepe backe a goodly testimony of Duke Frederickes constancy toward God and hys Religion.

When the Emperour had taken the Duke prisoner he came shortly after before the Citie of Wittemberg: and beyng aduised by some bloudy counsellours that Duke Frederickes Death should, by the terrour of it turne all the Protestantes from they Religion, caused a write to be made for the Duke to be executed the next mornyng vppon a solemne scaffold in the sight of his wife children, and the whole Citie of Wittemberg.

This write signed with the Emperours own hand was sent ouer night to the Duke, who whē the

the wyte came vnto hym was in hys tent play-
ing at Chesse with his Cousin and fellow prisoner
the Lanfgraue of Littenberg, and readdyng it adui-
sedly ouer layd it downe quietly beside and made
no countenance at all at y^e matter, but sayd Cousin
take good heede to your game, and returnyng to
his play as quietly as though he had receiued
some priuate letter of no great importance dyd
geue the Lanfgraue a trim mate.

*The Lanfgraue of
Littenberg*

The Emperour (I doubt not) chiefly moued
by God: secondly of his great wisedome and na-
turall clemency, when he vnderstode his meruei-
lous constancie chaunged his purpose and reuo-
ked the wyte, and euer after gaue him more ho-
nour, and shewed him more humanitie then any
Prince that euer I haue read of haue hetherto
Done to his prisoner.

He is also such a louer of learnyng as his Li-
brarie furnished with bookes of all touniges and
sciēces, passeth all other Libraries which are yet
gathered in Christendome: For my frend Ieroni-
mus Wolfius who translated Demosthenes out of
Greeke into Latine, who had sene the Frēch kings
Library at Augusta, hath told me that though in
six monethes he was not able onely to write out
the titles of the bookes in the Fuggers Library,
yet was it not so byg as Duke Frederickes was
which he saw in Saxony. I thinke he vnderstan-
deth no strainge tounge saue somewhat the Latin
and a litle the French: And yet it is merueilous
that my frend Iohannes Sturmius doth report by
wrytyng, what he heard Phillip Melancthon at a

*The french kings
Library at Augusta
The Fuggers*

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tyme say of this noble Duke: that he thought the Duke did priuately read & write more euery day the did both he and D. Aurifaber which two were counted in all mens iudgements to be the greatest readers and writers in all the Uniuerſitie of Wittemberg.

And as hee doth thus read with such diligence, euen so he can report with such a memory what soeuer he doth read, and namely histories, as at his table on euery new occasion he is accustomed to recite some new story which hee doth with such pleasure and utterance as men be content to leaue their meat to heare him talke: and yet hee hym selfe is not disdainfull to heare the meanest nor will ouerwhart any mans reason. He talketh without taunting, and is mery without scoffing, deluding no man for sport, nor nipping no man for sight.

Two kindes of men as his Preachers did tell me at Vilacho he will neuer long suffer to be in his house: the one a commō mocker, who for his pride thincketh so wel of his owne wit as his most delight is to make other mē fooles, and where God of his prouidence hath geuen small wit he for his sport wil make it none, and rather then he should leese his pleasure, he would an other should leese his wit: as I heare say was once done in England, and that by the sufferance of such as I am sorry for the good wil I beare them to heare such a report: the other a priuy whisperer a pickthacke a tale teller meddling so with other mēs matters, as he findeth no leysure to looke to his owne: one
such

such in a great house is able to turne and tosse the quietnes of all. Such two kinde of men sayth the Duke besides the present troubling of others neuer or seldome come to good end them selues. He loueth not also bold and thicke skinned faces, wherein the meanyng of the hart doth neuer appeare. Nor such hid talke as lyeth in wayte for other mens wittes. But would, y^e wordes should be so framed with the tounge, as they be alwayes ment in the hart.

And therfore the Duke him selfe thincketh nothyng which he dare not speake, nor speaketh nothyng whiche hee will not do. Yet hauyng thoughtes grounded vppon wisdom, his talke is alwayes so accompanied with discreffion and his deedes so attende vppon true dealing, as he neither biteth with wordes, nor wzingeth with deedes, except impudency follow the fault, which Xenophon wittely calleth the farthest point in alldoing, and then he bleth to speake home as he did to a Spanyard this last yeare at Villacho, who beyng of the Dukes garde, when he was prisoner, and now preasyng to sit at his table when he was at libertie, Because many nobles of y^e Court came that day to dine with the Duke, The gentleman husher gently desired the Spanyard to spare his roome for that day for a great personage: But hee countenancyng a braue Spanish bragge, sayd, Seignor ye know me well enough, and so sat him downe.

The Duke heard him, and preuentyng hys mans aunswere sayd: In deede you be to well known,

A noble nature.

Impudentia following
fault, is a fault
paynt in all doing
impudentiam sequitur
omnis turpitudinis Xenophon
Duke Fredericks
Sun swere to a
Spaniard

G.ij. known,
Impudentiam, impudentia impudentiam non quidem eam hunc

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knownen, by the same tokē the last tyme you were here you tooke a gobblet away with you, & therefore when you haue dyed you may go without farewell, and haue leaue to come agayne when ye be sent for. In the meane while an honest man may occupy your place. But in remembryng so good a Prince I haue gone to farre from my matter: And yet the remembraunce of him is neuer out of place, whose worthynes is neuer to be forgotten.

Duke George of Saxony a litle before he dyed hauing no child did disynherite Duke Henry his brother by his last wil because he was a Protestant, and gaue away his whole inheritaunce to Ferdinando kyng of Romaines.

But Duke Iohn Fredericke by force of armes set and kept his Cousin Duke Henry in his right: And he dying soone after left behynd hym two sonnes Duke Maurice and Duke Augustus, who likewise in their youth were defended in theyr right by the wisdom and force of Duke Iohn Fredericke. Duke Maurice was brought vp in Duke Iohn Frederickes house as if hee had bene hys owne sonne and maryed the Lanfgraues daughter.

After it came to passe that the Emperour attempted to establish Papistry in Germany with the sword, agaynst which purpose the Lanfgraue and Duke Iohn Fredericke armed them selues not to resist the Emperour as the Papistes say, but to kepe Gods Religion by, if any by violence would pull it downe, refusing neuer, but requirynge alwayes

wayes to referre them and theyr doctrine to a lawfull and free generall Councell where truth in Religion might be fully tryed in the hearyng of euen and equall iudges and that by the touchstone of Gods Canoncalle Scriptures.

*Ev' *ἵσους*
ἵσους words at-
 wayes bled
 in Thuci-
 dides in
 deciding
 comon con-
 trouersies.

Duke Maurice in the begynnyng of his warre was suspected neither of the Lansgraue nor of Duke Fredericke beyng sonne in law to the one and nighe kinsman to the other and agreeyng in Religio with both. Nea he was not onely not suspected. But as I heard skilful mē say he was ready with his counsell & promised his ayde to helpe forward y enterpryce, or els Hance Fredericke beyng a Prince of such wisdomē would not haue left at home behind hym an enemy offuch a force.

Francisco Duke Maurice Agent with the Emperour was asked, I beyng by at Augusta, how he could excuse his masters vnkindnes towards Iohn Fredericke who had bene such a father vnto him. He graunted that Duke Fredericke had bene a great frend vnto him, and might haue a greater if he had would, and the lesse strife had followed then did. And troth it is (sayd he) as Duke Fredericke kept my master in his right, so afterward he put him from part of his right, when in his pong peares hee chopped and chaunged landes with him when he listed: which thing my master comming to mans state much misliked, and oft complainyng could neuer obtayne remedy therein. Kyndnes should rather haue kyndly encreased ^{the} so vnkyndly haue decayed specially when the one was trusted withall, and the other of

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such yeares, as he had neither wit to perceine nor power to amend if any iniurie were offered vnto hym. Troth also it is that my master was brought vp in Duke Frederickes house: but he hath more cause to cōplaine on them that brought him thether; then to thanke such as brought him vp there, where he had alwayes plentie of drinke and as much scant of good teaching to come to such vertue and learning as dyd belong to a Prince of his state.

Now whether this talke was altogether true, or, an ill excuse was made to couer a foule fact I can not tell: but sure I am Francisco sayd thus. I haue heard wise men say that it is not lyke, that for such a priuate strife Duke Maurice would haue so forsaken not onely his frend and kinsman, but also his father in law or would for the losse a litle, or rather for the chaunge of a peece haue so hazzarded his whole estate, which was once in the first warre all gone saue Lypsia, and one other towne, beside the losse of loue in whole Germany and his good name amongst all Protestantes, in the midst of whom all hys liuinges do lye.

why Duke
Maurice
left hys
dearest
frendes and
fell in with
the Empe-
rour.
Ambition.

Well surely there was some great cause that could stirre vp so great a strife, and that was as wise men and wel willing on Duke Maurice side in myne opinion haue truly iudged, the foule vice of ambition.

O Lord how many worthy men hath this one vice bearest from good common weales, which for all other respectes were most vnwoz-
the

thy of that end they came vnto. My hart weepes
for those noble men of England, whose valiant-
nes in warre, whose wisdom in peace this
Realme shal want and wayle and wish and wish
for in tyme to come, which of late by this onely
vice haue bene taken from vs. Examples, lesse for
our grief and as fit for this purpose be plenty e-
nough in other states.

Quer many experiences do teach vs, though
a Prince be wise stout liberall gentle mercyfull
and excellently learned, though he deserue all the
praise, that vertue nature and fortune ca affoord
him, yea that wit it selfe can wish for as we read
that noble Iulius Cæsar had, and that by the testi-
mony of those that loued him not, neuertheles if
these two foule verses of Euripides.

Do right alway and wrong refraine.
Except onely for rule and raigne.

If these verses I say do not onely sound well
in his eare, but sincke deepe also in his hart, sure-
ly there is neither kindred, frendship, law, othe,
obedience, countrey, God, nor his owne life, but
he will hassard to leese all rather then to pursue
this foule vice: For Polynices, for whom this
verse was first made in Greeke, did fill not onely
his owne countrey full of dead carcasses, but also
whohle Greece full of weepyng widdowes. And
Cæsar for whom the same verse was turned into
Latin did not onely turne vpside down the good-
liest common wealth that euer G D D suffered to
stand vpon the earth: but also tossed the whole

A discours and affaires

world with battayle and slaughter euen almost from the sunne setting vnto the sunne rising. And did not stop to byng souldiours to do mischief further then any man now dare iourney by land either for pleasure or profite.

But see the fruite and end which this vngodly great growing bringeth men vnto: Both these Princes were slaine the one by his brother the other by his owne sonne, of whom in life, nature & benefites would they should haue taken most comfort of. But men that loue to clyme to hys haue alwayes least feare, and therefore by reason fall most suddenly and also fardest downe: yea the very bowghes that helped hym by will now whip him in falling downe: For who so in clymyng trusteth when he is goyng by any bough at all ouer much, though hee seeme to tread neuer so surely vpon it yet if he once begyn to slyp the same selfe bough is reddiest to beat him that seemed before surest to beare him. Examples hereof be seen dayly and forgotten hereby.

An other mischief chaunceth commonly to these high climers: that they will heare no man so gladly as such which are euer hartenyng them to clyme still. If wise and good men durst speake more freely then they do: great men should do both others and then selues lesse harme then they are wont to do. He hateth hym selfe and hasteth his owne hurt that is content to heare none so gladly as either a foole or a flat teter. A wonderfull follie in a great man hym selfe and some peace of miserie in a whole common wealth, where
fooles

the strongest state
of high climers.

fooles chiefly, and flatterers may speake freely what they will and wise men and good men shal commonly be shent, if they speake what they should.

And how commeth this to passe? it is the very plague of God for great mens sinnes, and the plaine high way to their iust punishment. And when God suffreth them so willingly to graunt freedome to follie and so gladly to geue hearyng to flattery: But see when the great man is gone and hath playd his part, fooles and flatterers be stil vpon the stage. Such liue in all worldes, such laugh in all miseries: such Dani and Getae, haue alwayes the longest partes: and go out who shal they tary in place still. I know also many a good mitio, which haue played long partes whom I pray God kepe long still vpon the stage. And I trust no man will be discontent with my generall saying except conscience do pricke him of his owne priuate ill doyng.

There be common wealthes where freedome in speakyng truth hath kept great me from boldnes in doyng ill: for free and frendly aduise is the trimmest glasse that any great man can vse to spye his owne fault in: which taken away they runne commonly so farre in foule doyng, as some neuer stay till they passe all remedy saue onely to late repentaunce. And as I would haue no flattery but wish for freedome: So in no wise do I commend ouermuch boldnes, or any kind of rapping. But that libertie in speakyng should be so mingled with good will and discretion, as no

A discours and affaires

great person should be vnhonozably spoken vnto, or any meane man touched out of order either for sport or spite: as some vnquiet heades neuer contented with any state are euer procuring either secretly with raylyng billes, or openly with taunting songes, or els some scoffing common play.

*A Description of
four kindes of
state matters*

An other kynd of to bold talkers surpasse all these selly rumors, who are called, and so will be, commo discoursers of all Princes affaires. These make a great accompt of them selues and will be comunonly formost in any prease, and lustly without blushing shoulder backe others: These will seeme to see further needes, in any secret affayze then the best and wisest counsellor a Prince hath. These be the open flatterers and priuy mislikers of all good counsellors doynges. And one common note, the most part of this brotherhode of discoursers comunonly cary with them where they be bold to speake: to like better Tullies Offices, then S. Paules Epistles: and a tale in Bocace, then a story of the Bible.

*whether flatterers
or raylers be worse*

And therefore for any Religion earnest setters forth of present tyme, with consciences confirmed with Machiauelles doctrine to thincke say and do what soeuer may serue best for profite or pleasure. But as concernyng flatterers and raylers to say mine opinion whether I like worse, surely as I haue read few men to haue bene hurt with bitter popsons: so haue I heard of as few great men to haue bene greatly harmed with sharpe talke: but ate so ware therein, that comunonly they wil com-
plaine of theyr hurt before they feele harme. And
flat-

flattery agayne is so sweete, that it pleaseth best; when it hurteth most, and therefore is alwayes to be feared: because it alwayes delighteth, but in looking aside to these hye climbers, I haue gone out of the way, of mine owne matter.

To returne to Duke Maurice, he saw that Duke Frederickes falling might be his rising, and perchaunce was moued with some old iniuries, but beyng of young yeares and of nature full of desire and courage he was a trimme pray for old practises to be easely carped away with fayre new promises sounding altogether to honor and profite, and so he forsoke his father and his friend, and became wholly the Emperours till hee had brought both them into prison. Duke Fredericke was taken in the field and so became the Emperours iust prisoner. Yet as long as the Lansgrau was abroad, the Emperour thought his purpose neuer atchieued, and therefore practised a new with Duke Maurice to get him also into his hands.

Duke Maurice with Ioachim Elector of Bradenburge became meanes betwixt the Lansgrau and the Emperour. Conditions both of mercy from the one, and of amendes from the other were drawen out. Maurice and the Marches bound them selues sureties to the Lāsgraues children, for their fathers safe returne: for amongst the rest of conditions this was one of the chiefest, that he should come in no prison. And so at Hala in Saxony, he came boldly to the Emperours presence, who receiued him not very cherefully, nor gaue him not his hand which in Germany is the

D.ij. very
In Germany, when two men lay falling out betwixt parties
to give the other a blow, it is a token of an assured
conciliation

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very token of an assured reconciliation.

The Duke of Alua made the Lansgraue a supper, and called also thither Duke Maurice, and the Marches of Bradéburg where they had great cheer: but after supper it was told Duke Maurice and the Marches, that they might depart for the Lansgraue must lodge there that night.

On the morrow, they reasoned of the matter wholly to this purpose that the Emperours promises not the Lansgraues person ought to be kept. Answer was made that the Emperour went no further then conditions led him which were that he should not be kept in everlastyng prison: and they agayne replied he ought to be kept in no prison. When I was at Villacho in Carinthia I asked Duke Frederickes Preacher what were the very wordes in Dutch, wherby the Lansgraue agaynst his looking was kept in prison. He sayd the fallacion was very pretty and notable and tooke his penne and wrote in my booke the very wordes wherin the very controuersie stode, duke Maurice sayd it was.

Nicht in emig gefengknes. i. Not in any prison.

The Imperials sayd no, but thus.

Nicht in ewig gefengknes. i. Not in everlastyng prison. And how soone *emig*, may be turned into *ewig*, not with scrape of kniffe, but with the least dash of a pen so that it shall neuer be perceined, a man that will proue, may easely see.

Moreouer Luice d'Avila in his booke doth reioyce that the Lansgraue did so deceaue hym selfe with his owne conditions in makyng of which
as

as d'Avila saith, he was wont to esteeme his own wit aboue all other mens . Well, how so euer it came to passe the Landgraue was kept in prison. And from that houre Duke Maurice fell from the Emperour thinckyng hym selfe most unkyndly hadled, that he by whose meanes chiefly the Emperour had won such honoz in Saxony, must now be rewarded with shame in all Germany, and be called a traytor to G D , and hys countrey, his father, and his frend . And though he was greeued inwardly at the hart , yet he bare all thynges quietly in countenance purposing though he had lost will yet would he not leese his profite, and so hiding his hurt presently, whilest some fitter time should discouer some better remedy, he went with the Emperour to Augusta, where accordyng to hys promise he was made Elector. Yet the same night after hys solemne creation, two verses set vppon his gate might more greue him, then all that honour could delight hym, which were these.

Duke Maurice made
elector.

*Seu Dux, seu Princeps, seu nunc dicaris Elector.
Mauricij Patrie proditor ipse tui.*

After that he had gotten that he looked for, he gat him home into his countrey: from whence afterward the Emperour with no pollicie could euer bryng hym, he alwayes alledgyng, the feare that he had of some sturre by Duke Frederickes children.

Hetherto the Germanes much mislyked the doynges of Duke Maurice. But after that he had

H.ij.

felt

A discours and affaires

felt him selfe so vnkyndly abused as for his good service to be made the betrayer of his father, he tooke such matters in hand & brought them so to passe, as he recouered the loue of his countrey and purchased such hate of his enemyes, as the Spanyardes tooke their displeasure from all other, and bestowed wholly vpon the Duke Maurice: and yet he bare him selfe with such wit, and courage agaynst them, as they had alwayes cause to feare hym and neuer occasion to contemne hym: **Y**ea if he had liued he would sooner men thinke haue driuen all Spanyardes out of Germany, then they should haue hurt hym in Saxony, for he had ioyned vnto him such strength, and there was in him such pollicie, as they durst neuer haue come vpon him with power, nor neuer should haue gone beyond hym with wit. He had so displeased the Emperour as he knew wel neither his lades: nor his life could make amendes/whē x. poundes of Benefites which he was able to do, could not way with one ounce of displeasure that he had already done: and therefore neuer after sought to seeke his loue which he knew could neuer be gotten: but gaue him selfe wholly to set by Maximilia, who beyng him selfe of great power, and of all other most beloued for his worthynes in all Germany, and now bring the head and hand of Duke Maurice and his frendes, and hauyng the helpe of as many as hated the Spanyardes, that is to say almost all Protestantes and Papistes to in Germany, he should easely haue obtained what soeuer he had gone about. But that boude is now bro-

ken

ken: for euen this day when I was writyng this place, came word to this Court, that Marches Albert, and Duke Maurice had fought, where the Marches had lost the field, and Duke Maurice had lost his life: which whole battaile because it is notable, I would here at length describe, but that I should wander to farre from my purposed matter: and therfore I in an other place, or els some other with better oportunitie shall at large report the matter.

We see the cause why and the time whē Duke Maurice fell from the Emperour. And because he was so notable a Prince, I will describe also the maner how he proceded in all these doyngs, as I learned amongst them that did not greatly loue him. And because it were small gayne to flatter him that is gone, and great shame to lye vppon him that is dead, for pleasynge any that be alyue, I so will report on hym as his doynges since my commynge to this Court haue deserued.

He was now of the age of xxxij. yeares well faced in countenance complection fauour and beard not much vnlike to Syr Raffe Sadler but some deale higher, and well and strong made to beare any labour and payne. He was once (men say) geuen to drinckynge, but now he had cleane left it, contented with small diet and litle sleepe in his last yeares, and therefore had a wakyng and workyng head: and became so wittye and secret, so hardy and ware, so skillfull of wayes, both to do harme to others, and keepe hurt from himselfe, as he neuer tooke enterpryse in hand

Chap.

H. iij.

where

The Description
of Duke Maurice

A discours and affaires

wherein he put not his aduersary alwayes to the worke. And to let other matter of Germany passe, euen this last yeare within the compasse of eight monethes he professed him selfe open enemy agaynst foure the greatest powers that I know vpon earth. The Turke, the Pope, the Emperour, & the French king, & obtained his purpose and want prayle agaynst the all foure: For he in person and pollicie & courage dispatched the Turkes purpose and power this last yeare in Hungary.

The
Turke.

The Pope

The Councell at Trent which the Pope & the Emperour went so about to establishe he onely brought to none effect: first by open protestatio agaynst that Councell, and after by his comyng with his army to Insburge, he brought such feare to the Bishops there gathered, that they ran euery one farre away fro thence, with such speed as they neuer durst hetherto speake of meeting there agayne. And how he delt with y^e Emperour, both in forcyng him to fflye from Insburge, and compellyng him to such a peace at Passow, my whole *Diarium* shall at full instruct you.

The Em=
perour.

French
kyng.

And of all other he serued the Fréch kyng best, who saye pretendyng the deliuey of the ii. Princes captiues, and the maintenaunce of Religion & libertie in Germany, purposed in very deede nothing els, but y^e destruction of the Emperour, & the house of Austria: for what cared he for religion abroad, who at home not onely followeth none him selfe priuately in his life, but also persecuteth the trouth in others openly with the sword. But I do him wrong to say he followeth none, who
could

could for his purpose be cōtent at one time to embrace all: & for to do hurt enough to the Emperour would become at once by solempne league, Protestāt, Papish, Turkish, & deuillish. But such Princes that cary nothyng els but the name of bea- ring by Gods word, deserue the same prayse and the same end that that Prince dyd, who seemed so ready to beare by y Arke of the Lord, & yet other- wise pursued Gods true Prophetes & his word.

Agayne how much the French kyng cared for the libertie of Germany he well declared in stea- lyng away so unhonorably from the Empire the Citie of Metz. But he thinckying to abuse Duke Maurice for his ambitious purpose, in very deede & in the end Duke Maurice vsed him as he should: for first he made him pay well for y whole warres in Germany as it is sayd. 200000. crownes a moneth: And after when the French kyng fell to catching of Cities, Duke Maurice tendryng y state of his countrey brake of with hym, and began to parle w the good kyng of Romanes at Lintz, which thying whē the Frēch kyng heard came within ij. miles of the Rhēne, he straight way hyed more hastily & with more disorder, for all his great hast, out of Germany, as they say that were there, then the Emperour being sicke without company and pressed by his enemy dyd go from Insburg.

And see how nobly Duke Maurice did which for y loue of his countrey, durst fall from the Frēch kyng before he atchieued any thying agaynst the Emperour. And rather thē Germany should leese her Cities so by the French king, he had leuer haf-

A discours and affaires

sard, both the leessing of his enterpryce, & also the leauyng of hys father in law still in prison with the Emperour. But as he had wit to take money plēty of the French kyng: so had he wit also to furnish him selfe so frō home as he durst first fall out with the French kyng, & durst also after to set vpō the Emperour till he had brought his honest purpose to passe. For there is not almost any in this Court but they will say Duke Maurice did honestly in deliuering his father by strong hand, which befoze left no saye meane vnproued to do that humbly by entreaty, which after, was cōpelled to byrnyng to passe stoutly by force. And I pray you first marke well what he did and then iudge truly if any thing was done that he ought not to do.

For first he him selfe with y^e Marches of Bradenburge most humbly by priuate sute laboured for the Lansgraues deliuey offring to the Emperour, princely offers, and not to be refused: as a huge summe of money: a saye quantitie of great ordinaunce, certaine holdes of his, some to be defaced, some geuē to y^e Emperour: and also personall pledges of great houses for hys good haberaunce all the residue of his life.

Duke
Maurice
offer for the
Lansgraues
deliuey.

After whē this sute was not regarded they againe procured all y^e Princes & states of Germany beyng at y^e Diet at Augusta. an. 1548. to be humble intercessors for him, offring y^e selfe same cōditions rehearsed befoze addyng this moze to become sureties them selues in any bande to his Maiestie for his due obedience for tyme to come.

Thirldy by the Prince of Spayne Duke Maurice

rice neuer left to entreat þ Emperor, yea he was so carefull of þ matter, that his Ambassadors followed the Prince euen to his shipping at Genoa: who had spokē oftē presently before, & wrote earnestly frō thence to his father for þ Lansgraues Deliuery, & it would not be. And wise mē may say it was not þ wisest deede that euer þ Emperoz did, to deny þ prince this sute: for if þ Prince had bene made þ deliuerer of þ .ij. princes out of captiuitie, he had won therby such fauor in all Germany, as about all doubt he had bene made coadiutor to the k. of Romaines his vncle, And afterward þ Emperoz. Which thing was lustly denyed to þ Emperoz by the Electors, though he laboured in þ matter so sore as he neuer dyd in any other before.

Fourthly this last yeare a litle before the open warres Duke Maurice procured once agayne, not onely all þ Princes and free Estates of Germany, but also the kyng of Romaines Ferdinand, Maximilian his sonne king of Boeme, the kyng of Pole, the kyng of Démarke the king of Sweden, to send also their Ambassadors for this suite, so that at once xxiii. Ambassadors came before the Emperour together at Insburge. To whom whē the Emperour had geuen very fayre wordes in effect cōcernyng a double meanyng aunswere, & that was this: That it did him good to see so noble an Ambassage at once. And therfore so many Princes should well vnderstand þ he would make a good accompt of their sute. Neuertheles because Duke Maurice was the chiefest partie herein he would with speede send for him, and vse his head for the

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better endyng of this matter. But Duke Maurice seying that all these Ambassadors wēt home with out him, and that the matter was referred to his present talke who was neuer heard in the matter before, he wisely met with this double meaning aunswere of the Emperours with a double meanyng *replica* agayne: for he promised the Emperour to come, and at last in deede came so hastily and so hotely as the Emperour could not abide the heat of his breath: For when duke Maurice saw that all humble suites, all quiet meanes were spent in vayne, & had to beare him iust witness therein all y^e Princes of Germany: first with close pollicie, after open power both wittely and stoutly, he atchieued more by force then he required by suite: For the Emperour was glad to condescend (which surely in an extreme aduersitie was done like a wise Prince) without money, without artillery, without defacyng of holdes, without receiuyng of pledges, to send the Lansgrau home, honorably accompanied with (at the Emperors charges) the nobilitie of Brabant & Flaunders.

This last day I dined with the Ambassadour of Venice in cōpany of many wise heades, where Duke Maurice was greatly praysted of some for his wit: of other for y^e execution of his purposes. Well sayth a lusty Italian Priest, I can not much prayse his wit, which might haue had the Emperour in his handes & would not. Doe such be these Machiuels heades, who thincke no mā to haue so much wit as he should, except he do more mischief then he neede. But Duke Maurice purposing to do no
harme

harme to the Emperour, but good to his father in law, obtainyng y one pursued not the other. Then I know it to be most true whē we fled from Insburg so hastily, Duke Maurice sent a post to y good kyng of Romanes, & bad him will the Emperoz to make no such speede for he purposed not to hurt his person: but to helpe his frend, whereupon the Diet at Passo immediatly folowed.

I comend rather the iudgement of Iohn Baptist Gascaldo, the Emperours man and y kyng of Romanes generall in Hungary, who is not wont to say better, or loue any mā more then he should specially Germaines, & namely Protestantes. And yet this last winter he wrote to the Emperour that he had marked Duke Maurice well in all his doynges agaynst the Turke, and of all men that euer he had sene, he had a head to forecast the best with pollicie and wit, and a hart to set vpon it with courage and speed, & also a discreffio to stay most wisely vpon the very picke of aduantage.

Marches Marignan told some in this Court foure yeares ago that Duke Maurice should become the greatest enemy to the Emperour that euer the Emperour had: which thing he iudged (I beleue) not of any troublesome nature which he saw in Duke Maurice, but of the great wronges that were done to Duke Maurice, knowyng that he had both wit to perceine them quietly and also a courage not to beare them ouer long.

Some other in this court that loued not duke Maurice, & hauyng no hurt to do him by power, went about to say him some for spight & therfore

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wrote these two spightfull verses agaynst him.

*Ingurtham Mauricus prodit Mauricius ultra,
Henricum, Patruum, Socerum, cum Cesare, Gallum.*

He that gaue me this verse added thereunto this his iudgement, well (sayth he) he that could finde in his hart to betray his frend Duke Henry of Brunswicke, his nigh kinsman Duke Fredericke, his father in law the Landgraue, his soueraigne Lord the Emperour, his confederate the French kyng, breakyng all bondes of frendshyp, nature, law, obediēce, and othe, shall besides all these, deceaue all men if at length he do not deceaue hym selfe. This verse and this sentence, the one made of spight, the other spoken of displeasure be here commended as men be affectioned. For any part as I can not accuse him for all: so will I not excuse him for part. And yet since I came to this Court I should do him wrong if I did not cōfesse that which as wise heades as be in this Court haue iudged on him, euen those that for countrey & Religion were not his frendes, that is, to haue shewed him selfe in all these assayes betwixt the Emperour and him: first, humble in intreatyng, diligent in pursuyng, witty in purposyng, secret in workyng, fearte to foresee by open warre, ready to parle for common peace, wise in choyle of conditions, and iust in performyng of couenants.

And I know he offended the Emperour beyond all remedy of amēdes: So would I be loth to see as I haue once sene, his Maiestie fall so agayne into any enemyes handes: lesse peraduenture

Duke Maurice.

ture lesse gentlenes would be found in him then was found in Duke Maurice, who when he was most able to hurt, was most ready to hold bys had and that agaynst such an enemy, as he knew well would neuer loue him, and should alwayes be of most power to reuenge. If Duke Maurice had had a Machiauels head or a cowardes hart, he would haue woꝛne a bloudyer sword the he did, which he neuer drew out in all these sturres, but once at y Cluce & y was to saue y Emperors mē.

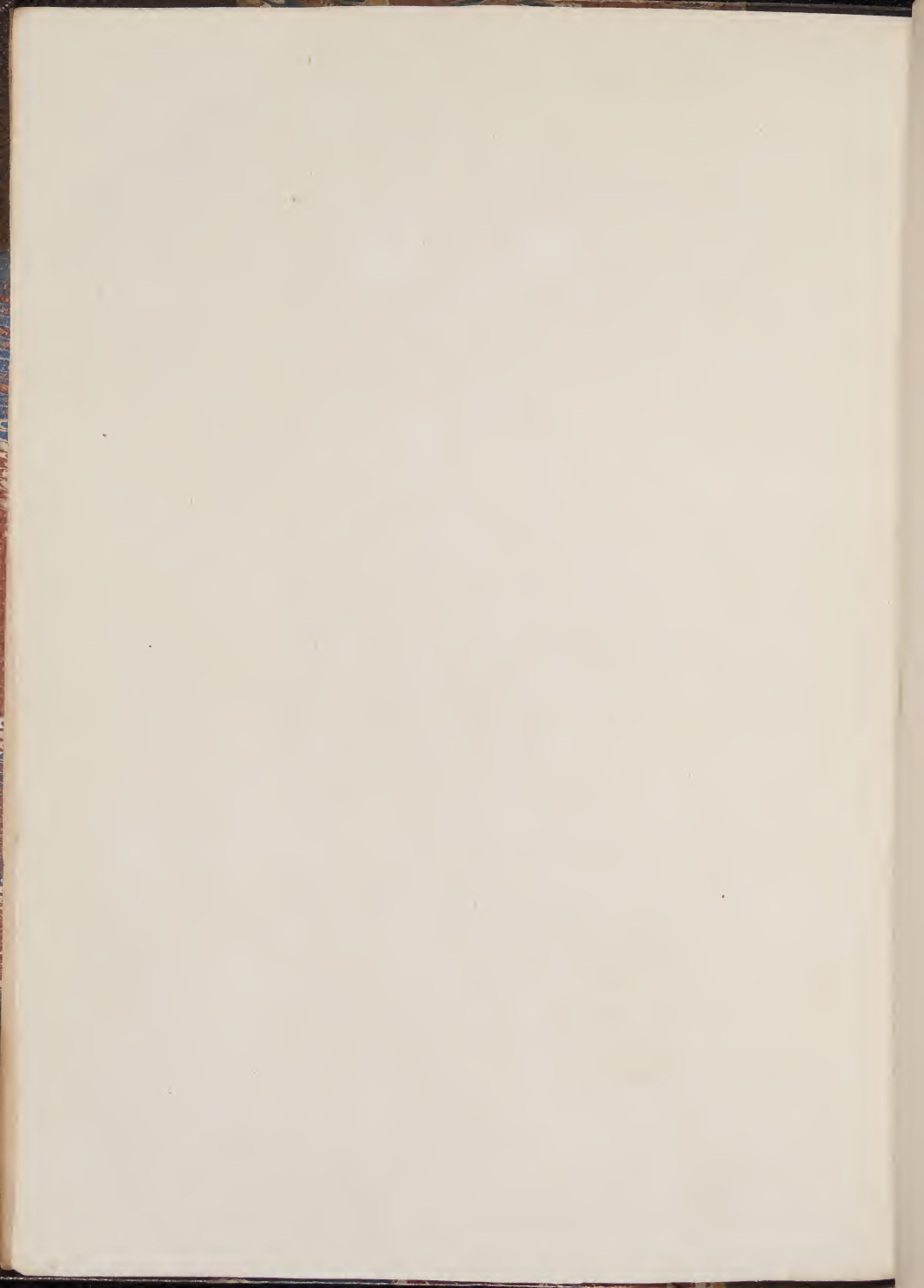
Hetherto I haue followed the order of persons which hath caused me somewhat to misorder both tyme & matter, yet where diuers great affaires come together, a man shall write confusedly for the matter, & vnpleasantly for y reader, if he vse not such an apt kinde of partitiō as y matter will best affourde, which thyng (Plato sayth) who cā not do, knoweth not how to write. Herein Herodotus deserueth in myne opinion a great Deale moze pꝛayse then Thucidides, although he wrote of a matter moze confused for places, time, and persons, then the other did.

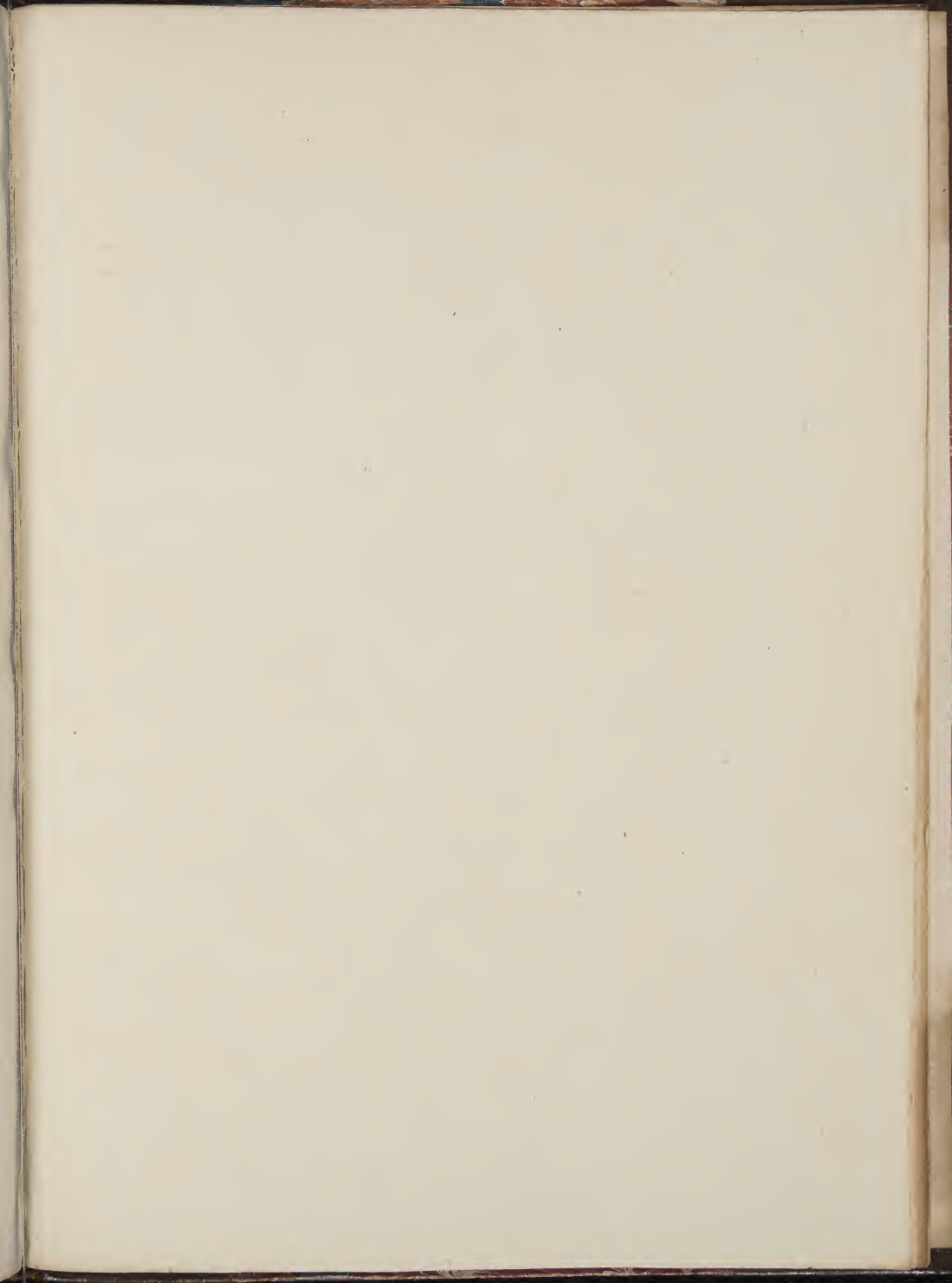
In this point also Appianus Alexandrinus is very commendable, and not by chaunce but by skil doth follow this order, declaryng in his Prologue iust causes why he should do so. Our writers in later tyme, both in Latin & other touniges commonly confound to many matters together, and so write well of no one. But see master Astley I thincking to be in some present talke with you, after our old wont do seeme to forget both my selfe and my purpose.

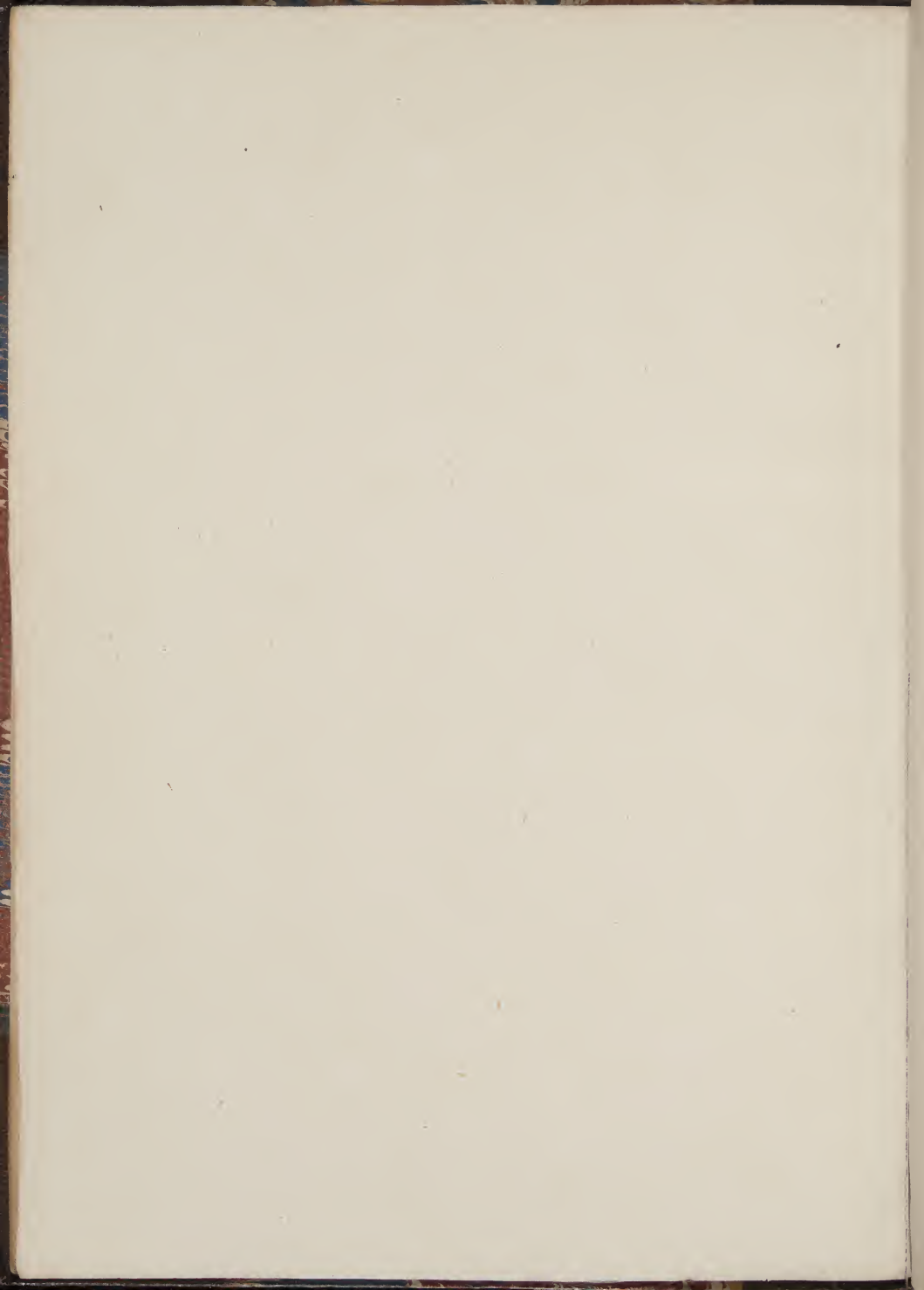
A discours and affaires

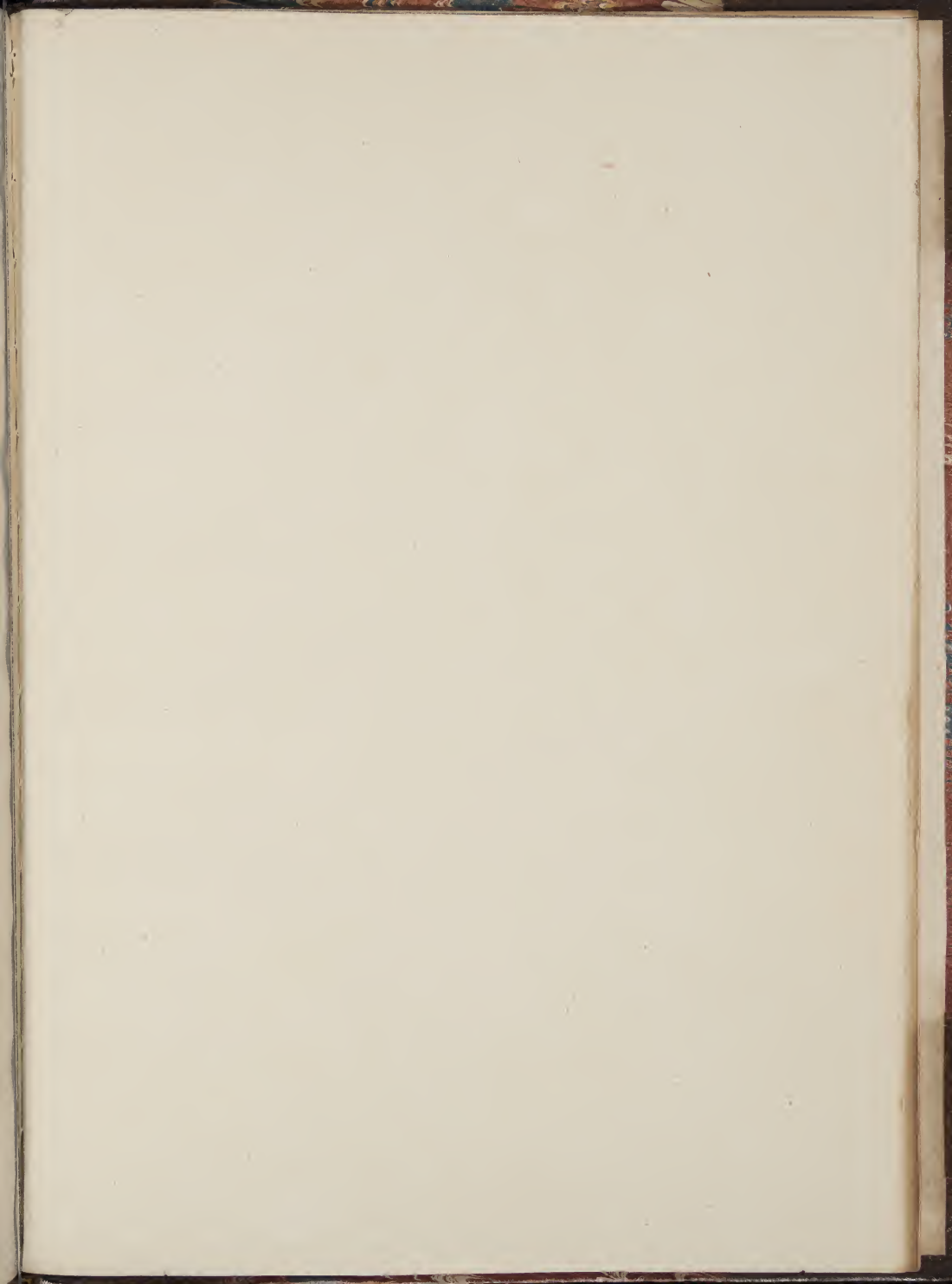
For the rest that is behind I will vse a grosse & homely kind of talke with you: for I will now as it were cary you, out of England with me, & will lead you the same way that I went euen to the Emperours Court beyng at Augusta. an. 1550. And I will let you see in what case it stode, and what thyngs were in doyng when we came first thether. After I will cary you and that a pace, because the chiefest matters be thronghly touched in this my former booke, throughe the greatest affaires of ij. yeares in this Court. Yet in order till we haue brought Duke Maurice (as I promised you) to ioyne with Marches Albert in besieging Augusta. And the because priuy practises braist out into open sturres I might better marke thynges dayly then I could before. And so we will depart with the Emperour from Insburg, and see dayly what chaunces were wrought by feare and hope in this Court till hys Maestie left the siege of Metz, and came downe hether to Bruxels: where then all things were shut vp into secret practises till lastly of all, they brake forth into new mischiefes, betwixt the Emperour and Fraunce in Picardy, & also betwixt Duke Maurice, and the Marches in hyghe Germany which thynges I trust some other shall marke and describe a great deale better then I am hable to doe.

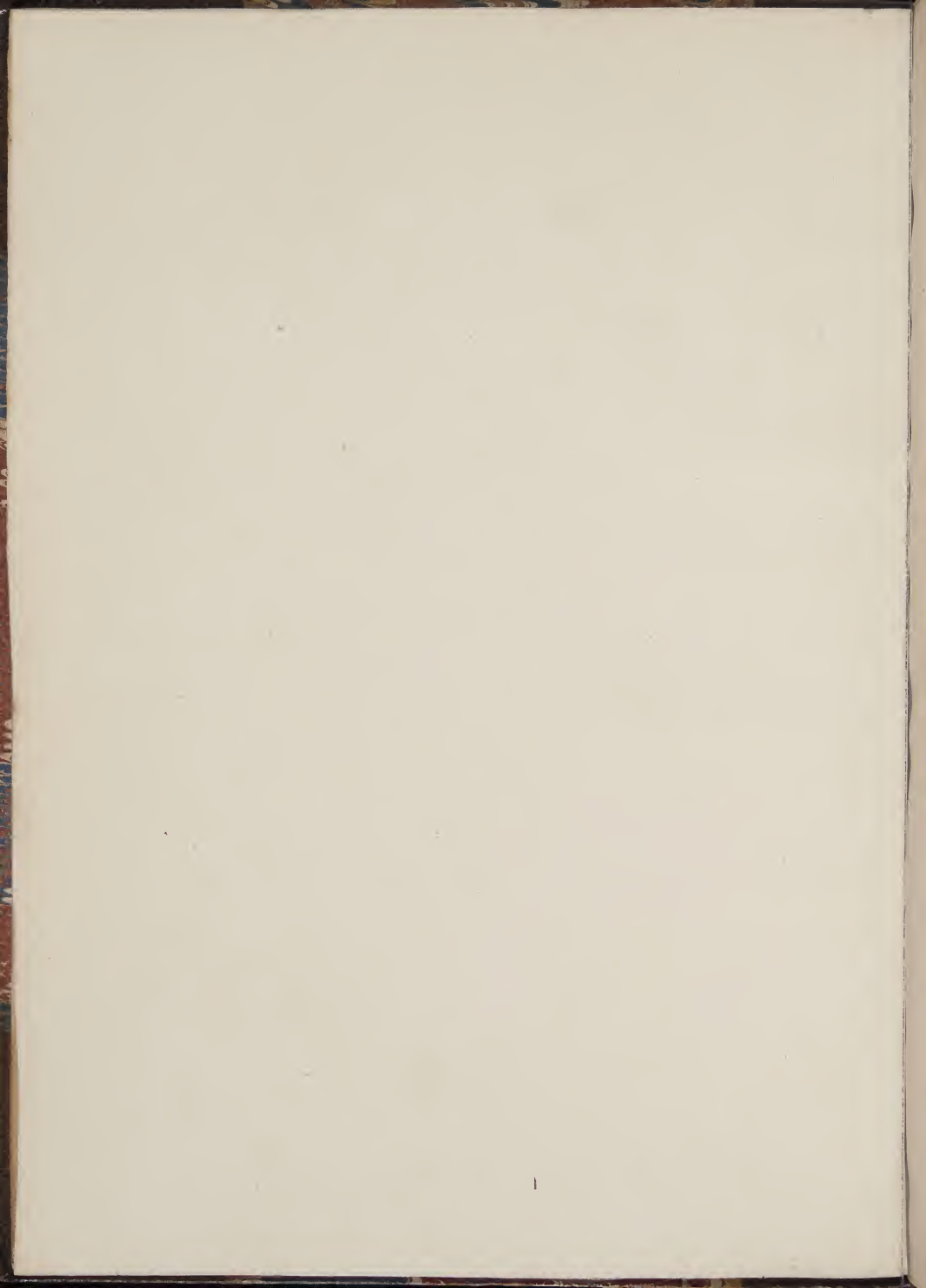
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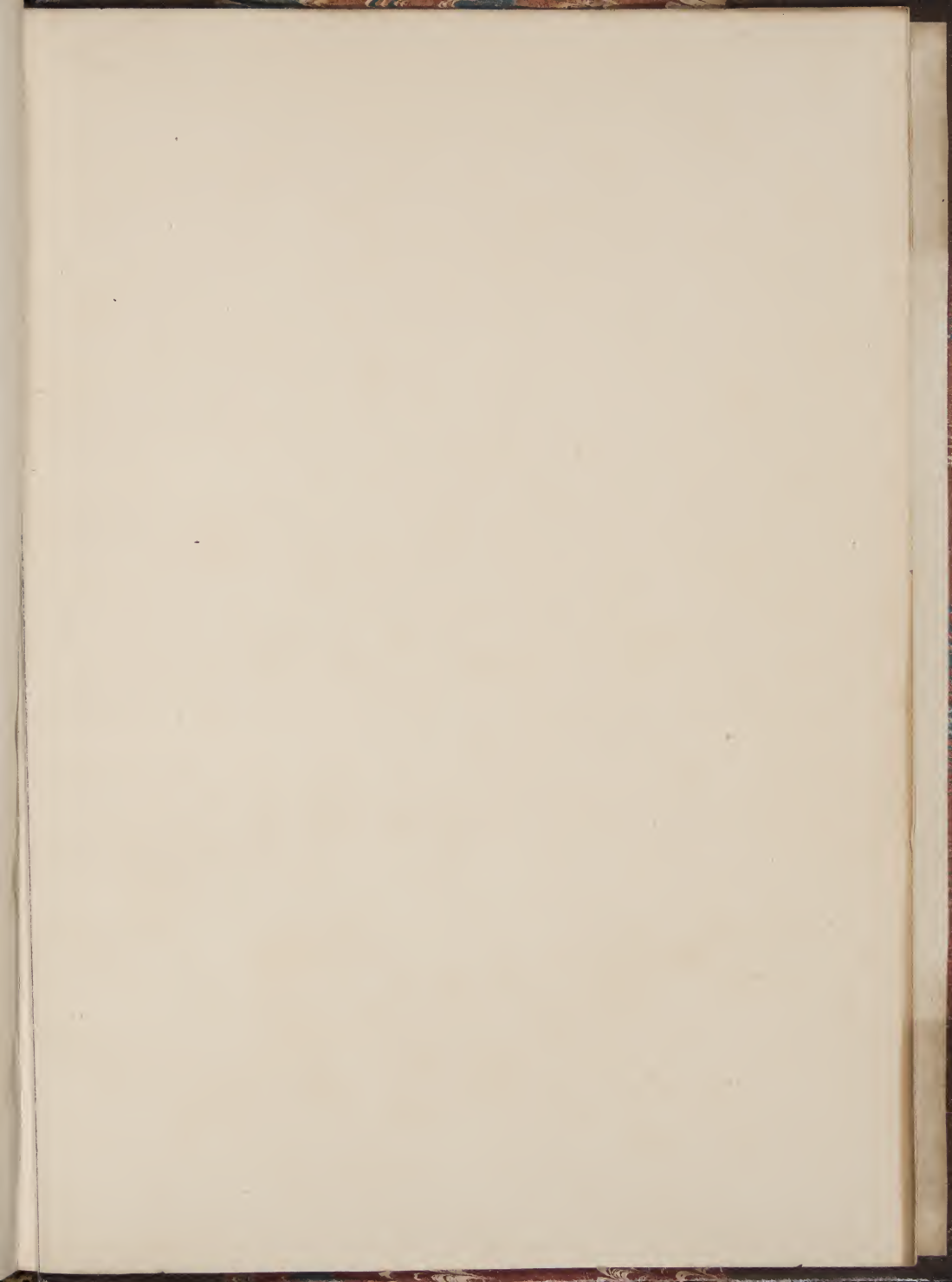


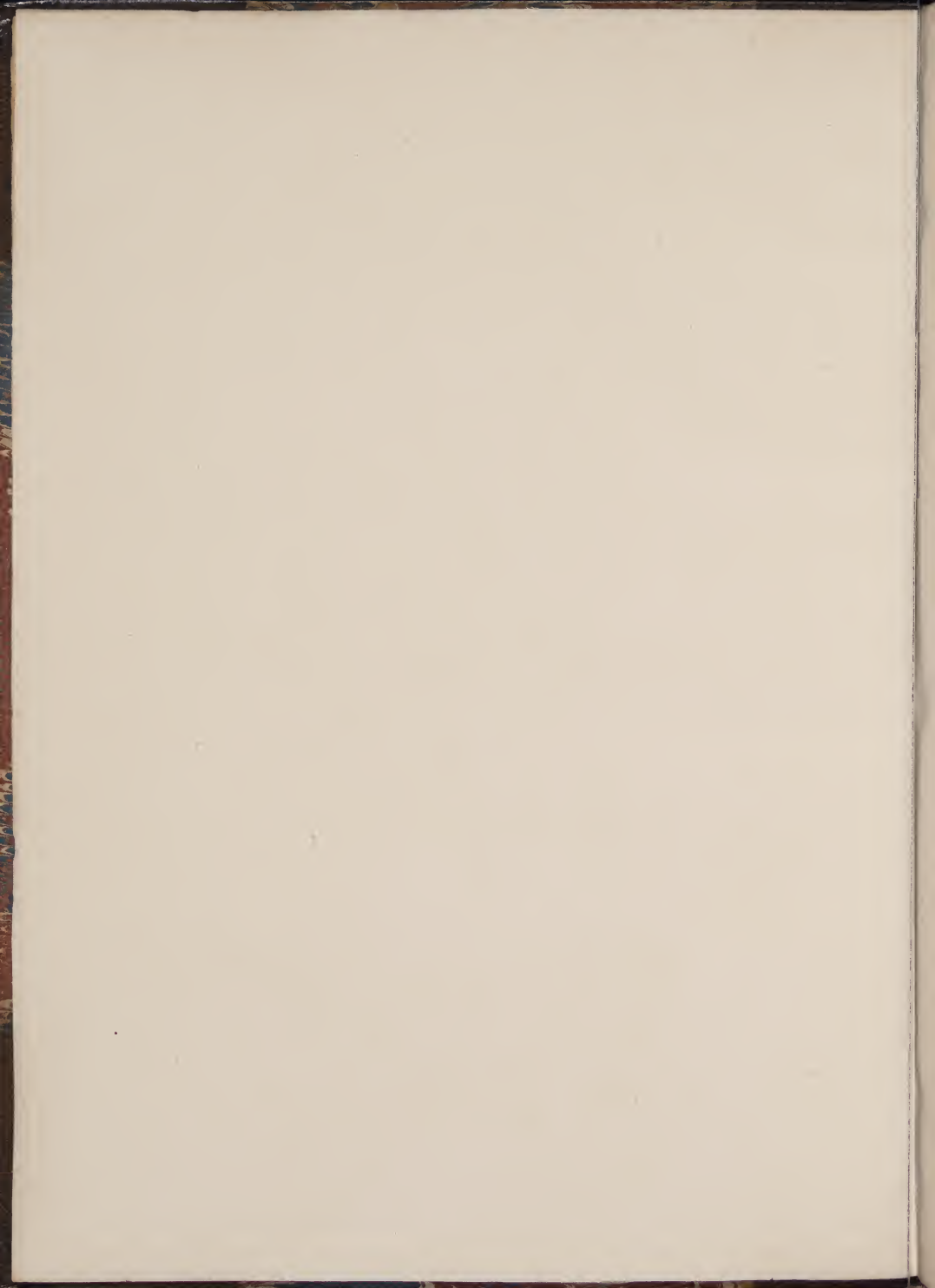


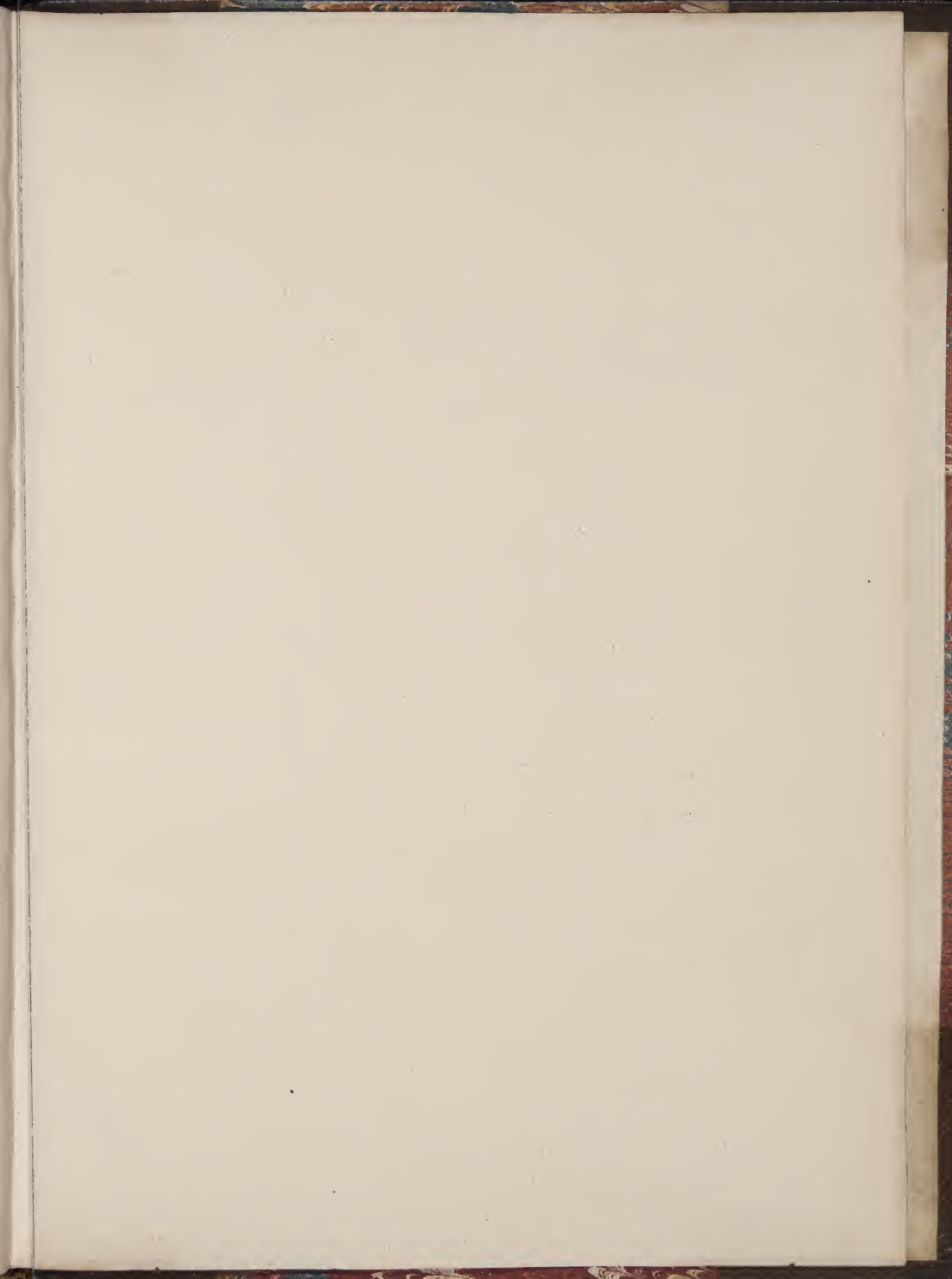












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Collated and complete (Grolier Cat. #10)
Karl Zamboni

